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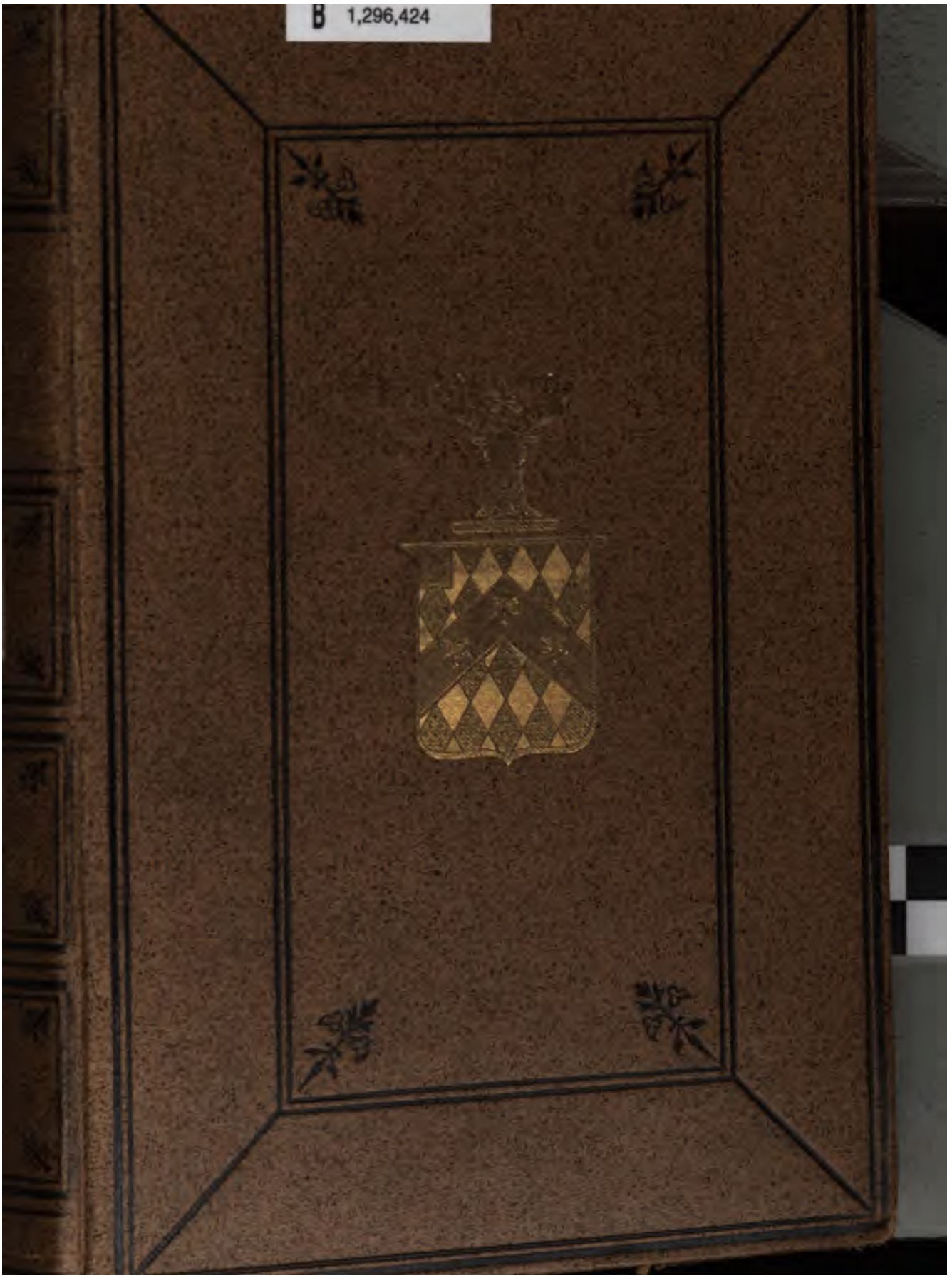
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WRAXALL'S

HISTORICAL AND POSTHUMOUS

MEMOIRS.

VOL. IV.

Ballantyne Press
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EDINBURGH AND LONDON





The Right Honourable

WILLIAM PITT,

Engraved by A. Cardon, from a Bust by

J. FLAXMAN, ESQ. R.A.

THE

HISTORICAL AND THE POSTHUMOUS

Memoirs

OF

Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall

1772—1784

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS FROM THE AUTHOR'S UNPUBLISHED MS.

BY

HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. IV.

LONDON
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1884

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POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

AUGUST 1784.

ONE of the most enlarged and liberal, as well as wise and conciliating measures, adopted by the Legislature during the course of the present reign, originated in the House of Commons at this time; but Dundas, not Pitt, constituted the channel through which it ostensibly proceeded. I mean the restitution of the estates in Scotland forfeited to the crown in the rebellion of the year 1745. With great dexterity the Treasurer of the Navy, while he depictured the beneficial consequences to the state that must result from adopting a line of policy so magnanimous in itself, took care to ascribe its original spirit and conception to the father of his friend, the

young Minister who sat near him. That illustrious statesman, said Dundas, whose mind was elevated above all local prejudices, boasted with reason that he sought for merit wherever he could discover it, disdaining to inquire whether a man had been rocked in a cradle to the north or to the south of the Tweed. "I found the qualities that I wanted," observed he, "in the mountains of the North, among a hardy race of men, labouring under national proscription. I called them forth to fight our battles, and I have experienced that their loyalty and fidelity can only be equalled by their valour." This testimony, so just, and yet so honourable to the natives of the Highlands, prepared the audience that he addressed for granting the boon. Indeed, I never remember to have seen the House more unanimous on any point. Fox even surpassed Pitt in the demonstration of his readiness to restore the forfeited lands. He declared that the measure ought not to stop at the limits prescribed to it, but, in justice as well as in sound policy, should extend to all English forfeitures incurred by the last rebellion. The only contest between them seeming to be how to render it sufficiently comprehensive in its operation, the bill passed the Lower House without a dissentient voice.

So much the greater astonishment was excited when, on its arrival in the House of Peers, the Lord Chancellor, from whom it was natural to expect that such a bill would have received support, drew out against it his powerful weapons of debate. Not, however, it must be owned, so much against the act of restitution itself, abstractedly considered, as in opposition to the time, the mode, and the channel through which it flowed. After lamenting that a proposition of such serious import and magnitude should be introduced at a moment when Parliament might be almost daily expected to rise, he protested

that its nature and purport had never been communicated to him before it arrived at their Lordships' bar. But he said that he had other and more weighty arguments to urge in his official capacity. "Acts of grace and pardon, my Lords," observed he, "should regularly originate within these walls, or rather with the sovereign himself, the constitutional fountain of mercy. Had it arisen there, I must probably have been informed of it; and at the same time I should have known the grounds upon which his Majesty is willing to relax the severity of the existing laws in the present instance. The form of proceeding would then have been by a message from the crown to this House, not on the motion of an individual member made in another assembly." Having subsequently pointed out many incongruities, unproved assertions, and objections to the bill as it stood, he finished by declaring that if a resolution was taken, at all events, to force the measure forward and to pass it, he would absent himself from any further discussions on the subject. These arguments, which unquestionably were solid no less than constitutional, and, as coming from so high a quarter, were supposed to have had the King's secret sanction or approbation, did not, however, prevent the rapid passage of the bill through the Upper House, or impede its receiving the royal assent. Even those persons who most approved and admired its principle yet agreed in sentiment with Lord Thurlow. Nor was it possible to avoid perceiving that Dundas had been allowed by Pitt in some measure to assume the royal functions and attributes, while he was thus made the parliamentary medium of conferring an act of grace on his proscribed countrymen. It forcibly demonstrated Dundas's ascendant over the Minister, and contributed essentially to lay the foundations of that prodigious

influence which he gradually established and exercised throughout every part of Scotland during Pitt's whole Administration.

[*2d—9th August* 1784.] The new East India Bill, after having passed the Commons, was sent up nearly at the same time to the House of Peers. This code of law, which legislated for British Asia, and which, in the ambitious no less than imprudent hands of Fox, had convulsed the kingdom, shaken the throne, and overturned the Administration, now scarcely attracted attention in that assembly, where, eight months earlier, the British constitution had asserted all its energies in order to rescue and protect the sovereign. During the absence of Lord Loughborough, who was engaged on the circuit in the discharge of his judicial functions, and on whose abilities the systematic opposition to Government principally reposed, that task devolved on Lord Stormont and the Earl of Carlisle. If the Opposition peers, when deprived of Lord Loughborough's assistance, might be considered as wanting their best support, on the other hand, the Ministerial ability in the Upper House was almost exclusively confined to the person of the Chancellor. Never, perhaps, at any period of the present reign could Administration boast of less eloquence or talents within those walls than during the first years after Pitt took upon himself the reins of government. The President of the Council, Earl Gower, rarely or never mixed in debate ; while Lord Howe,[1] who, when a member of the House of Commons, found himself unable to express his ideas in perspicuous language, even on subjects with which he must have been professionally acquainted, could not be expected to elucidate or to defend a measure of deep and complicated policy,

[1] The man who was known as "Black Dick, as brave as a rock and as silent," could not be expected to be a good debater.—ED.

intended for the government of India. The Duke of Richmond, even had he possessed the ability, stood so deeply committed upon various points essential to the bill, against which, while engaged in opposing Lord North, he had spoken, voted, or protested, that he could not, without a degree of unbecoming inconsistency, give it any strong support. Of the two Secretaries of State, the Marquis of Carmarthen,[1] who conducted the Foreign Department, though a nobleman of information, spirit, and considerable attainments of mind, yet wanted those parliamentary powers as well as the local knowledge of India requisite for extending efficient aid. He was, in fact, rather an elegant and accomplished individual than an able Minister. From his colleague, Lord Sydney, better exertions were expected, but the reputation that he had acquired while seated on the Opposition bench as a member of the minority in the Lower House during Lord North's Administration, he did not preserve or sustain after his elevation to the peerage. Down to the last evening that he remained on the Treasury bench as Secretary of State under Lord Shelburne's Government, Tommy Townshend displayed very considerable talents. Lord Sydney, when removed to the Upper House of Parliament, seemed to have sunk into an ordinary man. His best security for a continuance in office was the alliance that he had formed with the young First Minister, whose brother, the Earl of Chatham, had married during the preceding year one of Lord Sydney's daughters. Under such unfavourable circumstances Lord Thurlow nevertheless undertook to defend the new East India Bill, to repel the animated attacks of Lord Stormont, and to answer the objections of the Earl of Carlisle. He was not a little aided by the advanced season of

[1] Afterwards Duke of Leeds.—ED.

the year. So thin an attendance of peers upon so important a subject probably it would not be easy to parallel on the journals of the House. Only one division occurred during its discussion, when the contents amounted to eleven, the noncontents being four. Lord Shelburne took no part in the debates, and, I believe, never once attended in his place. The Privy Seal, which had been put into commission, was not yet conferred on Lord Camden, who therefore, not being a member of the Cabinet, however attached he might personally be to Pitt, extended little or no assistance to the measure. Intractable or sullen as the Chancellor proved on many occasions, and justly as he was reproached by his Ministerial colleagues for these defects of character, it would be unjust to deny the important service that he rendered to Administration during the passage of the East India Bill through the Upper House of Parliament.

Among the subjects of accusation against the First Lord of the Treasury to which the Opposition had recourse, and which they endeavoured to impress by every means upon the public mind at this time, was the charge of his subserviency to the East India interest. They depictured him as a mere puppet in the hands of the "Bengal squad," precisely as they had held up Lord North during many years to national contempt or detestation for his pretended subjection to secret influence in the person of Jenkinson. No imputation could be more calculated to undermine that high and elevated character which Pitt had hitherto sustained, on which foundation rested principally his power—an edifice reposing on public opinion and admiration far more even than on royal favour. Satire and poetry envenomed while they sharpened these weapons. "From the Treasury bench," says the "Rolliad,"

describing the local interior of the House of Commons, "we ascend one step to the India bench," where

> "Exalted sit
> The pillars of prerogative and *Pitt;*
> Delights of Asia, ornaments of man,
> Thy sovereign's sovereigns, happy Hindostan!"

On an impartial examination of the charge, it seems, however, to be repelled by irresistible facts. That the East India proprietors and directors, when menaced with extinction and confiscation of their property by Fox's bill, crept under Pitt's gaberdine in order to avoid the fury of the storm (as Trinculo does under that of Caliban), is indeed true. Like Trinculo, too, when the violence of the storm was over, they ventured to peep out to look about them and to protect their own interests. But how little subjection the Minister exhibited to the "Bengal squad" was fully displayed by his abandoning Hastings when impeached, and even joining with his prosecutors a few years after his own accession to power. Neither did the creation of a tribunal exclusively named for the trial of persons accused of misconduct in India—a tribunal previously unknown to the British constitution, and erected by the new East India Bill—appear to hold out either protection or impunity to delinquents returning from Asia. Fox, nevertheless, did not hesitate to avail himself of this accusation, which he brought forward in debate, and attempted to fix on his successful antagonist.

[*4th August* 1784.] During the last days of the session, Pitt, having introduced a bill for enabling the East India Company to make a dividend of eight per cent., and at the same time for remitting the sum of £100,000 due by the Company to the public, Fox arraigned the measure as calculated for insidious, dark, and reprehensible purposes. In

language of great severity he demanded if Administration ought to be permitted, after imposing on the British people taxes of the most onerous description, to keep so large a sum out of the public coffers in order to put it into the pockets of the East India Company? "When," exclaimed he, "we connect the present Act with the bill now pending in the Upper House for the regulation of that Company, may we not justly assert that, instead of establishing an English government over India, as the bill which I presented in the late Parliament professed and attempted to do, the inevitable tendency of the measures now in agitation is the establishment of an Indian government in England?"

Sensible how deep and how wide must be the operation of such a charge, when circulated throughout the kingdom from the head of the Opposition, the first Minister instantly rose to repel the insinuation. Having stigmatised the speech just pronounced as equally malevolent and inflammatory, he asked how the assumptions that it contained were warranted? "Where," inquired he, "are the means of establishing an Indian government in England to be found in the present bill? Has the actual Administration attempted to invade the property of the East India Company, to assume its patronage, to appropriate to themselves its revenues, and to render it the engine of permanent political power? Have I endeavoured to place myself in an unconstitutional situation by erecting a fourth branch of the Legislature and seizing upon the supreme authority of the state? Or if such intentions are anywhere to be found, must they not be sought in the clauses of the late East India Bill?" Personal as these recriminations were, others followed, if possible, still more severe. Pitt, irritated

at the imputation of having culpably remitted the debt due by the Company to the public, commented on the conduct of Fox's father, Lord Holland, whom he accused, though without expressly naming him, of paying neither principal nor interest of the sums long since due to the country—a debt which, he added, ought to be exacted, not remitted. In vain did Fox complain of the illiberality of such allusions, as unbecoming and disorderly. Dundas, justifying the First Lord of the Treasury, reminded his adversary, that whatever invidious observations had fallen from the Minister's lips, he had himself provoked and must therefore bear. The House remained during the whole time silent and passive witnesses of the altercation. No further attempt was made from any quarter to prolong the debate; and Fox, conscious of the paucity of his numbers, did not even venture on a division. This scene, where the two leaders came forward before their respective forces as if to break a hostile lance against each other, terminated triumphantly for the head of the Administration.

[20*th August* 1784.] The session, prolonged to a period of the year which is without any precedent in our modern parliamentary annals, at length closed, and Pitt, after making such successful exertions for the attainment of office, had leisure calmly to contemplate his own elevation. Extraordinary and rapid as it had been, that of Dundas might justly excite equal admiration. Only nine months earlier he presented the melancholy spectacle of a Scotch advocate proscribed by the Coalition, without apparent chance of public employment, nearly destitute of fortune, and unprovided with official means of subsistence. Fox, if he had used his newly acquired Ministerial power with moderation, instead of endeavouring to construct it on

ambitious and unconstitutional foundations—if he had patiently awaited the effect of time aided by his own exertions for surmounting the royal prejudices and antipathies entertained against him, instead of using the two Houses of Parliament as his instruments to fetter and disarm the sovereign —must have held firm possession of office. In such a case, Dundas, notwithstanding his great acknowledged talents, might have remained during as many years on the Opposition bench as we have beheld Sheridan stationary there in our time. But Fox's imprudence, propelled by his resentment at the King's fixed alienation, and urged on by Burke's impatient ardour, did not allow him to perceive that while he meditated the establishment of his own greatness, he was only labouring for his political rival. If Pitt attained the first place in the state, Dundas may with truth be said to have gained the second; for though he was not a Cabinet Minister, yet in the essential functions of official authority and influence, he far outweighed either of the Secretaries of State, or even the Chancellor. They, as well as the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Master-General of the Ordnance, and the President of the Council, were all members of the Upper House. Dundas, by his presence on the Treasury bench, came into daily contact with Pitt during many months of the year, when Parliament was assembled, rose to defend him when personally attacked, and after long debates commonly accompanied the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Downing Street, as some sessions earlier he had been accustomed to repair to the Pay Office, when Rigby presided over that department, under Lord North's Administration.

In the autumn of 1784, Dundas united in his own person some of the most solid and at the same time

brilliant public employments. As Treasurer of the Navy he enjoyed a very lucrative place, to which were subsequently attached apartments in Somerset House. But, like Pitt, he never practised economy, and though a man of business, yet pleasure in every shape presented to him irresistible allurements. The creation of an East India Board of Control, for the management of our political affairs in that quarter of the globe, which formed an important feature of Pitt's bill, followed immediately the prorogation of Parliament. At its head Lord Sydney was nominally placed as President.[1] The Chancellor of the Exchequer occupied likewise a seat at it, as did the two Joint Paymasters of the Forces, Lord Mulgrave and Mr William Grenville. To these members was added Lord Walsingham, but the whole power resided with Dundas, who, having secretly concerted his measures with Pitt, dictated his pleasure to the others on every point. Within two years afterwards, when Lord Walsingham expressed his reluctance to sign a dispatch tendered for his immediate approbation, he was dismissed, and Lord Frederick Campbell,[2] a countryman of Dundas, more accommodating in his disposition, replaced the vacancy occasioned at the Board. Economy forming ostensibly a prominent part of all the Ministerial measures, no salary was at first annexed to any of the East India Commissioners, who, being six in number, were selected from such Privy Councillors as held efficient offices of other kinds. The Treasurership of the Navy demanding comparatively little time or attention for transacting its duties, Dundas remained at liberty to bend all the force of his faculties to the administration of

[1] "Gods! how the lengthened chin of Sydney shakes!"—*Rolliad.*—ED.

[2] Son of John, fourth Duke of Argyll, by his wife Mary, daughter of John, second Lord Bellenden. He died 8th June 1816.—ED.

India. Patronage there was not indeed any vested by law in the board; but the Court of Directors and the two chairmen could not well be inattentive to the wishes, however indirectly or guardedly expressed, of a person who exercised such superintending powers over them and their possessions. The Board of Trade, abolished only two years earlier by Burke's bill, being likewise re-established nearly at the same time, though under another name and without any salaries, Dundas was appointed one of its members. A far more extensive range lay, however, open to his ambition in the secret management of his native country, Scotland, almost all the parliamentary or borough interest of which kingdom became gradually attracted into his vortex. Of course the favours of the crown to the north of the Tweed passed through his hands, and were almost exclusively conferred through his interest. If it was asserted of the first Mr. Pitt that "while he crushed with his right hand the two branches of the House of Bourbon, he wielded in his left the democracy of England," it might be said with equal truth, though with less sublimity, of Dundas, that while he controlled the British dominions in India with one hand, with the other he managed and regulated Scotland.

The Opposition—which party always affected to treat him as a venal deserter, who, after successively quitting Lord North and Lord Shelburne, had only attached himself to Mr. Pitt from the suggestions of a well-weighed and calculating ambition—emptied their quiver of lampoons and satire upon him. But they found his hide impenetrable, fenced with good-humour, protected by great abilities, strength of character, and corresponding manliness of mind. The "Rolliad," holding him up to public reprobation, describes Dundas as a man—

"Whose exalted soul
No bonds of vulgar prejudice control;
Of shame unconscious in his bold career,
He spurns that honour which the weak revere.
For, true to public virtue's patriot plan,
He loves the *Minister* and not the *man*;
Alike the advocate of North and wit,
The friend of Shelburne, and the guide of Pitt."

Nor did his political enemies satisfy themselves with inveighing against his tergiversation and the interested versatility with which he supported three different Administrations in three successive years. They pursued him into private life, and depictured him as a determined votary of pleasure. In one of the "Political Eclogues," entitled "Rose, or The Complaint," parodied from Virgil's "Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin," and published in 1785, the author, observing on the predilections of some distinguished persons about London well known by their gallantries, says—

"What various tastes divide the fickle town!
One likes the fair, and one admires the brown:
The stately, Queensb'ry; Hinchinbrook, the small:
Thurlow loves servant-maids; Dundas loves all."

Notwithstanding this intellectual artillery perpetually discharged on him, he kept firm his steady way, looking, like Jenkinson, straight forward to the British peerage, as the distant but certain remuneration of his public exertions. Nor could Pitt have discovered a more able, efficient, laborious, and eloquent coadjutor than Dundas if he had sought throughout his Majesty's dominions. That he wanted the correct and measured deportment, the elevated disinterestedness, and the insensibility or superiority to female seductions, by which qualities the First Minister was distinguished, we must admit; but he possessed, on the other hand, many endowments of mind or of disposition vainly sought

in the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Dundas manifested more amenity of manner, more placability of temper, more facility of access, a more yielding, accommodating, and forgiving nature. If Pitt subdued, Dundas conciliated adversaries. The latter, who had received his political education and imbibed his parliamentary habits under Lord North, breathed a more liberal spirit, more comprehensive in its embrace, and more calculated to gain or to disarm his opponents. Pitt was undoubtedly capable of firm and fervent friendships; yet Dundas, with less sincerity, acquired more general good-will. Pitt[1] was cold and repulsive, Dundas invited approach. The former seldom made advances, mingled a gravity or a constraint even with his civilities, seemed to weigh his expressions, rarely provoked or prolonged conversations, and speedily retired into himself. The latter was always communicative, and the lineaments of his countenance open, as well as gay, facilitated his objects even when he most concealed his purposes. Pitt appeared as if made to withhold, Dundas to confer, Ministerial favours. Many of those recompenses or remunerations denominated in vulgar language jobs unfortunately necessary among us in order to keep adherents in good-humour, and which flowed from the state fountain in Downing Street, were distributed, not by Pitt, but by the Treasurer of the Navy.

I knew with great intimacy, during more than thirty years, a lady, whose fortune not equalling her rank—for she was a peeress in her own right of very ancient creation—found herself compelled to have recourse to the fountain in question. Her eldest son having expended much time and money

[1] A most interesting account of Pitt's private life, by the Marquis Wellesley, is printed in the "Quarterly Review," vol. lvii. p. 487. The Marquis describes the great Minister as one of the most delightful and genial of companions.—ED.

in raising, forming, and disciplining a corps of yeomanry cavalry during the revolutionary war previous to the treaty of Amiens, his mother made many applications to the Treasury with a view to obtain for him a pension, of which assistance he stood greatly in need. Wearied with ineffectual solicitations, she addressed herself to Dundas, and obtained an appointment to wait on him at Somerset House. She was punctual to the hour named, and the first thing that she did after entering the apartment (as she herself assured me) was to turn the key in the door. "You see," said she, "that I am in earnest and determined to be heard." Having by his desire detailed the case, to which he listened with the utmost patience, politeness, and good-humour, she concluded by demanding in pressing terms the aid of a pension for her son. "How much, madam, must you have?" asked Dundas. "I ask for £500 a year," answered she. "It is reasonable," replied he, "and it shall be done." In effect, her son obtained it immediately afterwards without further trouble, upon public grounds, as having merited it by his exertions in the common cause of defending the country. I am well aware that pensions were sometimes obtained by ladies through Mr. Dundas on principles less patriotic, where beauty, high connections, or personal predilection aided the application. I could name instances in proof of my assertion. Nor could Scotland have been reduced under his influence without having recourse to similar expedients, by which, in the course of a few years, nearly forty out of the forty-five members sent to the House of Commons from North Britain might be said to owe their seats to the Treasurer of the Navy. I ought, however, here to add, that in the list of Ministerial benefactions he eminently distinguished the literati of

his own country, almost all of whom received, through his protection or recommendation, marks of the bounty of the crown. Pitt by no means extended equal patronage to English genius or literary talents.

Precisely about this time a lady was presented at court and on the theatre of public life who attracted universal attention. I mean Mrs. Hastings. She was born, I believe, in his Britannic Majesty's electoral dominions,[1] and had been early married to Mr. Imhoff, who, as well as herself, was a German. Being by profession an historical and a portrait painter, he came over to England, bringing with him his wife, who was at that time young, captivating in her person, and possessing many graces. Madame Schwellenbergen, one of the two keepers of the robes to the Queen, herself a native of Germany, and who has performed no inconsiderable part during the present reign at Windsor as well as at St. James's, patronised the Imhoffs. At her solicitation her Majesty was induced to extend to them a degree of protection which procured for them from the Directors of the East India Company permission to go out to Madras. The hope of acquiring by his pencil a more rapid fortune in Asia than he could probably expect to gain in Europe, induced him to embark for India in the winter of 1768; and it happened that Mr. Hastings, whom the East India Company had recently named second in Council at Fort St. George, took his passage on board the same vessel with Mr. and Mrs. Imhoff. At that time he had never seen or heard of her, but shortly after sailing from England, accident, which had brought them into the same ship, made them personally known to each other. Hastings having en-

[1] "She was a native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel."—*Macaulay's Essays.* She died in 1837, aged ninety-one.—ED.

gaged the room denominated the round-house for his own exclusive accommodation, Mrs. Imhoff, believing him to be on the quarter-deck, without previously ascertaining the fact, mounted by the stairs of the quarter-gallery to that apartment. Their surprise at meeting was mutual, and she made, from the first instance of his seeing her, a deep impression on the future Governor-General. In the course of their voyage Hastings formed a very strong attachment to her, and his passion acquiring strength by time, he continued to visit her with great assiduity while she and her husband resided at Madras, but always with such precautions and under such restrictions as not to compromise her honour. About the time when Hastings was appointed to the government of Bengal in January 1772 a termination of her marriage with Imhoff took place, which union, as having been originally celebrated in Germany, was asserted to be capable of dissolution by mutual consent. This amicable divorce was not, however, effected without the aid of money, Hastings having, in fact, paid to Imhoff a sum considerably exceeding £10,000, with which acquisition the fortunate painter quitted India, and returning to his native country, there bought an estate out of the produce of his wife's attractions. Mrs. Imhoff followed her lover to Calcutta, and as soon as her former husband had transmitted authentic intelligence that the divorce was obtained, the new Governor-General of India legalised his connection by the solemnities of wedlock. During more than ten years that Hastings subsequently occupied the supreme authority on the banks of the Ganges she remained there with him, was consulted by him on affairs of state, accompanied him in his visits to the upper provinces, particularly after the revolt of Cheyt Sing, and invariably

maintained her ascendancy over his mind as well as his affections. Nor did any censure ever attach to her conduct, unless we consider as such the accusation which her own and her husband's enemies raised against her of amassing wealth by presents received from the native princes and princesses, which were usually conveyed under the form of diamonds or other gems. It was asserted that though Hastings might be poor or disinterested, yet his wife was rich and rapacious;[1] but calumny, party, and political enmity probably exaggerated the amount of these supposed accumulations.

As early as the year 1780 Hastings sent over Major Scott to England in quality of his agent; and towards the close of 1783, meditating his own return from Bengal, he determined on letting Mrs. Hastings precede him, hoping that her presence and exertions might smooth many asperities, while she ascertained and prepared the ground for his speedy personal appearance in London. In his expectations from both these measures he found himself nevertheless deceived. Scott's zeal and publications, no less than his speeches and defiances in Parliament, injured the Governor-General's cause by irritating his political enemies. As little benefit resulted from Mrs. Hastings's appearance at St. James's and in the circles of rank or fashion. Not that she was at all deficient in those accomplishments which adorn society; for though she had already passed the limits of youth, her person still preserved many attractions. Her conversation was interesting, and her deportment unexceptionable in private life. But the nature of her marriage with Hastings, and all the circumstances which had produced that union, afforded so much subject for animadversion or scandal as considerably to impede her introduction into

[1] She lost large sums by the failure of a house in the City.—ED.

the highest company. She was, besides, a stranger to England, by birth, by a long residence in Asia, and by her unacquaintance with our modes of life and our manners. Even her figure furnished matter for malevolent criticism, as, at a time when every fashionable female's head-dress was elevated twelve or eighteen inches high, and formed a barbarous assemblage of powder, pins, and other fantastic ornaments piled on each other, she had the courage to wear her hair without powder. To this circumstance the "Probationary Ode of Major Scott" alludes when describing Mrs. Hastings's presentation to the King and Queen at the drawing-room. The portrait is highly coloured, but true to the original, and the invocation to Pitt replete with acrimony :—

"Gods! how her diamonds flock
On each unpowdered lock!
On every membrane see a topaz clings!
Behold, her joints are fewer than her rings!
Illustrious dame! on either ear
The Munny Begum's spoils appear!
O Pitt! with awe behold that precious throat,
Whose necklace teems with many a future vote!
Pregnant with Burgage gems each hand she rears;
And lo! depending questions gleam upon her ears!"

Her reception at court was most gracious ; nor could such a circumstance justly excite surprise, since his Majesty made no secret of declaring the high opinion that he entertained of Hastings's public services.[1]

I did not witness Mrs. Hastings's presentation at

[1] Mrs. Hastings was popularly supposed to have bought the favour of Queen Charlotte with Indian presents, and caricatures abundantly reflected the popular feeling. At the time the walls of London were placarded with posters relating to the exhibition of a quack who pretended to eat stones. Alluding to this, a caricature was published which represented George III. with a diamond between his teeth and a heap of others before him. This was inscribed, "The greatest stone-eater." The diamond sent by the Nizam of Deccan was presented to the King by Warren Hastings, 14th June 1786.—ED.

the drawing-room, having quitted England for Paris, where I made a stay of some weeks, a few days previous to the prorogation of Parliament. The Court of France still exhibited at that time a majestic and imposing appearance. No man, if wholly unacquainted with the secret causes of approaching convulsion, when surveying the aspect of the capital in September 1784,[1] could have foreseen that within five years the monarchy would be swallowed up in the abyss of a sanguinary and ferocious revolution. Still less, while assisting at the superb spectacle of Versailles and its waterworks on a day of gala, when the King and Queen dined in public, environed by all the pomp of majesty, could it have been supposed that they would so soon be prisoners in the hands of their revolted subjects. It was, nevertheless, already apparent to those acquainted with the interior frame of the Government and the embarrassed state of the finances that the materials of disorder and confusion were accumulating rapidly from various quarters. The people, inflamed as well as perverted by the writings of the French philosophers, aspired to freedom, wholly unconscious or ignorant that liberty cannot be preserved without public morals and the severe restraints of law under the strong control of an executive power. The nation, after contributing so successfully to emancipate America, began to demand its own emancipation and the formation of a constitution. Unfortunately for the crown, the victories obtained in the Chesapeake and the conquests made in the West Indies, when Necker was at the head of the finances, had eventually produced a deficit in the revenue; while Calonne, who presided over that department since 1781 as Controller-

[1] Even so acute an observer as Mercier, who foresaw so many coming events, saw nothing of the impending ruin to monarchy. See his "Tableau de Paris."—D.

General, however eminent were his faculties, yet neither possessed the frugality, political steadiness, nor moral reputation requisite for his arduous position. The united operation of these causes might nevertheless have been unquestionably obviated or dissipated if the throne of France had been filled by a sovereign of any energy, decision, and determination. But Louis XVI. seemed to be raised up by Providence in its inscrutable dispensations not less for the subversion of the French monarchy in our time than his ancestor, Henry IV., two centuries earlier, appeared to be preserved by Heaven for the purpose of its extrication and restoration.

The King, at the time of which I speak, was thirty years of age, had reigned above ten since the death of his grandfather, and unquestionably possessed the affection and esteem of his subjects. During the first four years after his accession, while France remained at peace, from 1774 to 1778, every circumstance combined to diffuse a popularity round his person and government. Instead of a prince sinking into the grave amidst excesses of the worst description, surrounded by a harem over which Madame du Barry presided, Versailles exhibited to the French nation and to Europe a splendid court regulated by decorum, at the head of which a young, elegant, and accomplished queen attracted universal admiration. Louis's correct manners, his conjugal attachment, his acknowledged rectitude of intention and application to public business, these features of his character and conduct formed a striking contrast with the enervate and dissolute state of degradation in which Louis XV. terminated his long career. The recall of the Parliaments, which assemblies had been exiled by his predecessor, was a measure calculated to excite general satisfaction. His dismis-

sion of the Abbé Terrai,[1] one of the most unpopular Ministers of the late reign, whom Louis XV. had placed at the head of the finances, and the nomination of Turgot to that office, a man possessing an elevated mind as well as expanded and beneficent views for the amelioration of the revenue, endeared the young King to his people. The Chancellor, Maupeou, whose shameless submissions to the Countess du Barry, some of which, too well authenticated, were at once so indecent and so licentious as hardly to obtain belief, or to be commemorated without degrading the dignity of history, was deprived of the functions of his office. Miromesnil, a lawyer of more decorous manners, if not of superior legal talents, became Keeper of the Great Seal. Maurepas, placed at the head of the royal councils, superseded the Duke d'Aiguillon, whose name and administration had long been deservedly unpopular; while Vergennes, recalled for the express purpose from his embassy in Sweden, occupied the post of Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. These salutary and judicious changes, made by a prince who had then scarcely attained to manhood, seemed to promise a fortunate reign, when his judgment, matured by experience, should enable him to assume a more active part in the administration of state affairs.

The four or five years that elapsed between 1778 and the beginning of 1783, during the whole of which period Louis was engaged in war with this country, contributed to raise him in the estimation of his own people and of foreign nations by the success that generally accompanied his arms. For though the last of those years, 1782, was attended

[1] It was said "L'Abbé Terrai a bien fait le mal, et Monsieur Turgot a mal fait le bien." Voltaire declared, "I have but one tooth left, and that I keep for the Abbé Terrai."—ED.

with two great reverses, namely, the naval defeat sustained by De Grasse and the destruction of the Spanish batteries under the walls of Gibraltar, yet every leading object for which the French Government undertook the contest was ultimately accomplished. The American colonies, under the protection of Louis, became a free and sovereign power. All the disasters experienced by France during the war of 1756 disappeared at Yorktown, where a British army surrendered to Washington and Rochambeau. In the East Indies, Suffrein contended down to the last moment of hostilities for the empire of the sea; and though France restored to us by the treaty of peace most of the islands that she had reduced under her dominion in the West Indies, she retained Tobago and resumed possession of St. Lucia; while Spain, fighting under the French banner, recovered Minorca and both the Floridas, which had been dissevered from her crown. Such were the brilliant occurrences of the first eight or nine years of a reign destined to so fatal a termination, and which seemed strikingly to exemplify the picture drawn by Gray of Richard II., whose commencement, like Louis XVI.'s, excited high expectations :—

> "Fair laughs the morn, and gay the zephyr blows,
> While proudly riding o'er the azure realm,
> In gilded state the painted vessel goes,
> Youth at the prow, and Pleasure at the helm,
> Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
> That, hushed in grim repose, expects his evening prey."

Louis XVI. displayed many of the virtues that adorn private life, few or none of the qualities that uphold the throne when assailed by civil commotions. To George III. he bore in various respects a strong moral resemblance, but that similarity ceased altogether on the essential feature of energy,

decision, and firmness of character. During the riots of the month of June 1780, which assumed some of the most alarming characteristics of the French Revolution, the English King manifested a calm courage and determination to die, if requisite, at his post in defence of the power intrusted to him by the constitution. Louis in July 1789, instead of repelling the infuriated mob which assailed him in his own palace, abandoned the reins of government. He may be said to have deposed himself. Even James II. fled and did not wait to be carried a prisoner to Whitehall. Louis suffered himself to be drawn from Versailles to Paris, a spectacle of fallen majesty, insulted on his arrival in his own capital by Bailli, the mayor, who presented him sarcastically the keys of a metropolis which had already thrown off all allegiance. He had previously left the citadel of the Bastile (which might easily have been rendered impregnable against any attack of the Parisians) destitute of an adequate garrison, of provisions, or of ammunition. In October of the same year he was ignominiously conveyed, with his queen and children, a dethroned captive, to the palace of the Tuileries, which residence he quitted, instead of defending it to the last extremity as he ought to have done, and might have done successfully, on the 10th of August 1792. The different fate of the two sovereigns of England and of France has corresponded with their opposite characters. We behold the former prince, though deprived of his mental faculties, yet still reigning in the person of his son, after having not only preserved his own dominions from internal anarchy or foreign invasion, but extended protection to France, to Spain, and to the great Continental powers when struggling under the despotism of a revolutionary conqueror. The latter prince, a

victim to his inert, irresolute, and yielding measures, perished on the scaffold in front of his own palace.[1]

In 1784 the vital defects of his monarchical character lay as yet in some measure concealed from general inspection. We may, however, assume with moral certainty that the flight of the princes of the blood, and the expatriation of many among the great nobility, at the very commencement of the revolution in 1789, would not have taken place unless they had well known the weakness of the sovereign whom they abandoned to his fate. They doubtless were aware that he would neither defend himself nor them in the moment of danger. That the Count d'Artois,[2] who was personally unpopular and regarded as despotic in his principles, should have dreaded the effects of democratic violence, and should have fled from Versailles without waiting till matters arrived at the last extremity, might naturally be expected, but the Prince of Condé, in whom survived a portion of the heroism of his great ancestor, would never have deserted a king who had not first deserted his own cause. In fact, the reign of Louis XVI. expired on the day of his passive transfer to Paris in October 1789, as much as that of Richard II. terminated when he delivered himself up a prisoner in the castle of Flint to his cousin, Henry of Lancaster. Instead of permitting a ferocious and sanguinary populace to drag him like a victim to the altar, if Louis would only have sent a party of cavalry to stop their passage across the Seine at the bridges of Sèvres and St. Cloud, he might have remained with perfect security in his palace. Or if his aversion to shedding the blood of

[1] General Dumouriez called him "the honestest man in his dominions."—ED.

[2] Afterwards Charles X.—ED.

his subjects superseded every sentiment of self-preservation in his bosom, he might have withdrawn with his family, as he was urged to do by more than one of his Ministers, from Versailles to Rambouillet, and thence to Chartres. There he would have found himself protected by a considerable army. If, then, he had called on every man who loved his country to join him against rebellion and anarchy, while at the same time he had protested his readiness to concede to the nation, and to establish on the firmest foundations, a free constitution, he might still have been seated on the throne of France. But Louis, averse to resistance, seemed never to aspire to any crown except that of martyrdom. Henry III.'s position on the 12th and 13th of May 1588 precisely resembled that of Louis XVI. on the 5th and 6th of October 1789. The Duke of Guise, at the head of a rebellious body of forces, surrounded and menaced Henry in the Louvre as La Fayette and the Parisian populace did Louis at Versailles. But Henry, though long passive and irresolute, fled at last, and finally took up arms. Louis remained torpid, prohibited all defence, allowed himself to be conveyed as a captive to his capital, and suffered under the guillotine. He was his own executioner.

Two of the most interesting princesses whom the eighteenth century produced, and who will be considered as such by posterity, were unquestionably Maria Theresa and Marie Antoinette of Austria, one the mother, the other the daughter, both endowed with qualities fitted to sustain the throne in times of the greatest difficulty. The former, when driven from her hereditary dominions by the French and Bavarians in 1741, found resources in her own mind which impelled her to resist and ultimately enabled her to expel her enemies. It is

of her that Johnson speaks when, depicturing the calamities produced by ambition, as exemplified in the instance of the Bavarian Emperor, Charles VII., he says—

"The bold Bavarian, in a luckless hour,
Tries the dread summits of Cæsarian power;
With unexpected legions bursts away,
And sees defenceless realms accept his sway.
Short sway! *Fair Austria* spreads her mournful charms;
The queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms."

With equal self-devotion and fortitude, no man can doubt, would the late ill-fated Queen of France have conducted herself during the course of the French Revolution, if, like her mother, she had reigned in her own right. To Louis she might have justly said, as Catherine de Foix did to her husband, John d'Albret, King of Navarre, nearly three centuries earlier—"Si nous fussions nés, vous, Catherine de Foix, et moi, Don Jean d'Albret, nous n'aurions jamais perdu la Navarre." More unfortunate even than Margaret of Anjou, wife of our Henry VI., Marie Antoinette, after beholding, like the English queen, her husband immolated and her only son imprisoned by ferocious assassins, was ultimately conducted in a cart with her hands tied behind her as a common criminal to the place of execution. In the autumn of 1784 she had nearly completed her twenty-ninth year. Her beauty, like the mother of Æneas, "incessu patuit." It consisted in her manner, air, and movements, all which were full of dignity as well as grace. No person could look at her without conceiving a favourable impression of her intelligence and spirit. The King was heavy and inert, destitute of activity or elasticity, wanting all the characteristic attributes of youth, who, though not corpulent, yet might be termed unwieldy, and who rather tumbled from

one foot to the other than walked with firmness. His queen could not move a step or perform an act in which majesty was not blended. She possessed all the vigour of mind, decision of character, and determination to maintain the royal authority which were wanting in Louis. Nor does it demand any exertion of our belief to be convinced that she would have preferred death on the 10th of August 1792, as she loudly declared, rather than have fled for shelter to the intimidated assembly which transferred her to the Temple. Her understanding was not highly cultivated, nor her acquaintance with works of literature extensive, but her heart could receive and cherish some of the best emotions of our nature. Friendship, gratitude, maternal affection, conjugal love, fortitude, contempt of danger and of death, all these and many other virtues, however they might be choked up by the rank soil of a court, yet manifested themselves under the pressure of calamity.

While I do this justice to her distinguished intellectual endowments and natural disposition, the impartiality which I profess compels me to disclose her defects with the same unreserve. She had many, some of them belonging to the queen, others more properly appertaining to the woman. Like the wife of Germanicus, she wanted caution and due command over her words and actions. Descended, as she was, from a house which during successive centuries had been the rival and the inveterate enemy of France, young, destitute of experience, surrounded by courtiers who dwelt upon her smiles, she did not sufficiently appreciate the dangers of such an elevation, and she violated frequently the most ordinary maxims of prudence. Her high and haughty temper, made for dominion, impelled her to regard the people as populace, and

she seemed always to say while she looked round her—

"Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo."

This well-known feature of her character aggravated all the errors or mistakes of her conduct, and enabled detraction to accuse her with the crime of being not only an Austrian by birth, but such in heart and inclination. So long as she had not produced a son the imputation wore at least a semblance of probability; and a similar charge had been made in the preceding century, with some reason, against Anne of Austria. Louis XIII.'s consort was, in fact, pursued criminally by the Cardinal de Richelieu for maintaining a treasonable correspondence with her brother, Philip IV., King of Spain. The birth of a Dauphin, who afterwards became Louis XIV., rescued Anne from Ministerial prosecution; but Marie Antoinette, even after she had given an heir to the monarchy in 1781, and a second son in 1785, was still accused by popular malevolence, though most unjustly, of remitting pecuniary supplies to her brother, the Emperor Joseph II. Whatever might have been her predilections before she became a mother, we cannot doubt that subsequently to that event she beheld only the interests of France before her eyes. Her judgment did not, however, equal the elevation of her mind. The expensive purchase of the palace of St. Cloud from the Duke of Orleans in her name was an act of great imprudence. Her contempt or disregard of appearances exposed her to severe comments, as did her strong partialities and preferences manifested for various individuals of both sexes. The renunciation which she made of etiquette and her emancipation from court form, though calculated to heighten the enjoyments of private society, broke down one of the barriers that surrounded the

throne. Her personal vanity, not to say coquetry, was excessive and censurable. She passed more time in studying and adjusting the ornaments of her dress than became a woman placed upon the most dangerous eminence in Europe. Mademoiselle Bertin, who was her directress in this article, could indeed more easily obtain an audience of Marie Antoinette than persons of the first rank. Pleasure and dissipation offered for her irresistible charms.

But was she or was she not, it may be asked, a woman of gallantry? Did she ever violate her nuptial fidelity? Are we to rank her among the virtuous or among the licentious princesses recorded in history? I am well aware that the illustrious female in question did not always restrain the marks of her predilection within prudent limits, and she thereby furnished ample matter for detraction. So did Anne Bullen, but I imagine there are very few if any persons who believe that the unfortunate mother of Elizabeth was false to Henry VIII.'s bed. I have personally known many of the individuals commonly supposed or asserted to have been favoured lovers of the late Queen of France. Ignorance and malevolence furnished the principal or the only proofs of criminality. Some of these men, thus distinguished, were foreigners and Englishmen. At their head I might place the late Lord Hugh Seymour, then the Honourable Hugh Seymour Conway,[1] a captain in the navy. After the peace of 1783, when he was about twenty-five, he visited Paris and Versailles. Like all his six brothers, he exceeded in height the ordinary proportion of mankind, and he possessed great personal advantages, sustained by most engaging manners. The Queen, who met him at the Duchess de Polig-

[1] Hugh Seymour Conway, son of the first Marquis of Hertford, born in 1759. He became an Admiral, and died in 1801.—ED.

nac's, among the crowd of eminent and elegant strangers there assembled, honoured him with marks of her particular notice, appeared to take a pleasure in conversing with him, and unquestionably displayed towards him great partiality. On this foundation was raised the accusation. I believe the present Earl Whitworth made a similar impression on Marie Antoinette about the same time. He, too, was highly favoured by nature, and his address exceeded even his figure. At every period of his life queens, duchesses, and countesses have showered on him their regard. The Duke of Dorset, recently sent ambassador to France, being an intimate friend of Mr. Whitworth, made him known to the Queen, who not only distinguished him by flattering marks of her attention, but interested herself in promoting his fortune, which then stood greatly in need of such a patronage. As Lord Whitworth is at this hour a British Earl, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, decorated with various orders of knighthood, and one of the most distinguished subjects of the crown, I shall digress from Marie Antoinette for a short time in order to relate some particulars of his rise and elevation in life.

Lord Whitworth is about three years younger than myself, and must have been born in or towards 1754. His father, who had received the honour of knighthood, and was likewise a member of the House of Commons, left at his decease a numerous family involved in embarrassed circumstances. Mr. Whitworth, the eldest son, having embraced the military profession, served in the Guards, and attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, but, I believe, was more distinguished during this period of his career by success in gallantries than by any professional merits or brilliant services. Soón after his thirtieth year he quitted the army; and as his fortune was very

limited, he next aspired to enter the corps diplomatique. The circumstance becoming known to the Queen of France, she recommended his interests strongly to the Duke of Dorset, who, not without great difficulty, obtained at length, in the year 1786, for his friend the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw. I know from good authority that when that nomination was bestowed on him, no little impediment to his departure arose from the want of a few hundred pounds to defray the unavoidable expenses of his equipment. The unfortunate Stanislaus Poniatowski then reigned over the nominal monarchy of Poland, and Mr. Whitworth gave such satisfaction while residing at Warsaw in his public character, that on a vacancy occurring at Petersburgh, about two years afterwards, he was sent as British envoy to Russia. During his residence of eleven or more years on the banks of the Neva he received the order of the Bath, and was subsequently raised to the dignity of an Irish baron. But as very ample pecuniary resources were necessary for sustaining the dignity of his official situation, to support which in an adequate manner his salary as Minister from the British court was altogether unequal, he did not hesitate to avail himself of female aid. Among the distinguished ladies of high rank about Catherine's person at that time was the Countess Gerbetzow, who, though married, possessed a very considerable fortune at her own disposal.[1] Such was her partiality for the English envoy, that she in a great measure provided, clothed, and defrayed his household from her own purse. In return for such solid proofs of attachment, he engaged to give her his hand in mar-

[1] The "Quarterly Review" (vol. lvii. p. 470) says the lady's name was Gerepzof, and that the whole story as to Whitworth's matrimonial engagement and his pecuniary obligations to the lady is false.—ED.

riage, a stipulation the accomplishment of which was necessarily deferred till she could obtain a divorce from her husband. Catherine's brilliant reign being closed, and her eccentric successor having adopted those pernicious measures which within a short period of time produced his destruction, Lord Whitworth returned in 1800 to this country. He was then about fifty years of age, and still possessed as many personal graces as are perhaps ever retained at that period of life.

The Duke of Dorset, whose friendship had so eminently conduced to place Lord Whitworth in the diplomatic line, had already expired in July 1799, at his seat of Knole, in Kent. His decease was preceded by a long period of intellectual decay or mental alienation, during the course of which, comprising nearly twenty months, the Duchess, his wife, discharged towards him, in a most exemplary manner, every conjugal duty and office. She was the eldest daughter of Sir Charles Cope, a baronet of Queen Anne's creation, and had completed her thirty-second year at the time when Lord Whitworth reached England. Her person, though not feminine, might then be denominated handsome, and if her mind was not highly cultivated or refined, she could boast of intellectual endowments that fitted her for the active business of life. Under the dominion of no passion except the love of money, her taste for power and pleasure was always subordinate to her economy. The attachment of her late husband, aided by the decline of his intellect, had impelled him not only to exclude his nearest collateral heir, the present Duke of Dorset, from the succession to any part of his landed estates, but in some measure to sacrifice his own son to the interests of the Duchess. In virtue of the Duke's testamentary dispositions, she came into immediate pos-

session of £13,000 a year on his demise, besides the borough of East Grinstead during her life. So great an accumulation of wealth and of parliamentary influence had scarcely ever vested among us in a female and a widow, especially when Dorset House in Whitehall, as well as Knole, the seat of the Earls and Dukes of that name ever since Elizabeth's reign, eventually passed into her hands. Lord Whitworth, though under such obligations to the Duke's friendship, yet being personally unknown to the Duchess, did not present himself at her door till towards the close of the year 1800. But the courtship was short, and they were married in the subsequent month of April.

Meanwhile the Countess Gerbetzow, to whose attachment Lord Whitworth had been so deeply indebted while resident at Petersburgh, and with whom he had contracted such serious contingent engagements, having succeeded in procuring a divorce from her husband, left that capital on her way to England.[1] At Leipsic she first read in one of the Continental newspapers that the Duchess of Dorset's nuptials with Lord Whitworth were expected shortly to be celebrated, a piece of intelligence which, however unexpected or alarming it might be, only induced her to accelerate her journey. On her arrival in London, she learned that the union had already taken place. Irritated by disappointment and indignation, she had recourse to various expedients for obtaining restitution of the sums that she had advanced to her former lover on the faith of his assurances of marriage. Her reclamations, which were of too delicate and serious a nature to be despised, when sustained by such

[1] Marriage is indissoluble in the Greek Church, and the Countess Gerepzof did not obtain a divorce; in fact, her husband came to England with her. See "Quarterly Review," vol. lvii. p. 471.—ED.

proofs as she could produce in confirmation of them, at length compelled the Duchess, most reluctantly, to pay her Muscovite rival no less a sum than £10,000, thus purchasing the quiet possession of a husband, as Mr. Hastings had bought the right to a wife, and nearly at as exorbitant a price.

However highly advantageous was such an alliance for a man whose private fortune was of the most slender description, yet his political career might probably have terminated at this period of his life if the connection existing between his wife and the family of Jenkinson had not given it a new impulse. Lady Cope, the Duchess's mother, a woman of uncommon personal beauty, married a second time, in 1782, the late Charles Jenkinson, subsequently created Earl of Liverpool. After the peace of Amiens in 1802, as it became necessary to send an ambassador to the French Republic, Lord Whitworth was selected for the employment. The vast pecuniary resources which his recent marriage afforded him of sustaining the unavoidable expenses incident to such a mission unquestionably facilitated his nomination. It is, however, admitted that he acquitted himself with dexterity, calmness, and judgment during the short and stormy period that he remained at Paris. On his return to England, not occupying a seat in either House of Parliament, he sunk during ten years into comparative insignificance. But in 1813, before which time the present Earl of Liverpool had attained to the head of the Treasury, he was once more called, at the advanced age of sixty-three, into active public employment. The Duke of Richmond's period of office as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland being terminated, Lord Whitworth received that high appointment, and was created at the same time an English Viscount. Two years later, Lord Liverpool included

him among the seven individuals then raised to the dignity of Earls, while the Duchess, his wife, had intermediately derived an augmentation of nine thousand pounds a year in consequence of the calamitous death of her only son, the young Duke of Dorset, killed at the age of little more than twenty-one in an Irish fox-chase. On this prodigious elevation stands Lord Whitworth at the present moment, an elevation from which he may be said to look down even upon Lord Gwydir,[1] hitherto esteemed the most fortunate individual of our time. Three females of the highest rank, one of them a sovereign, namely, the late Queen of France, the Countess Gerbetzow, and the Duchess of Dorset, successively aided his progress in life. Without inquiring whether Johnson's remark on "ambitious love" as being rarely productive of happiness can apply to the case before us, we may nevertheless be allowed to doubt whether a humbler matrimonial alliance might not have been attended with more felicity. If, on revisiting his native country, he had been united to a woman of inferior fortune and condition, who would probably have given him posterity, he would certainly have presented an object of more rational envy and respect than as the second husband of a Duchess, elevated by her connections to dignities and offices, subsisting on her possessions, and who will probably ere long inter him with an Earl's coronet on his coffin. I return to Marie Antoinette.

The late Duke of Dorset himself was by vulgar misrepresentation included in the list of that princess's pretended lovers. Unquestionably he enjoyed much of her regard and confidence, with

[1] Sir Peter Burrell, who succeeded to the baronetcy of his great-uncle, Sir Merrick Burrell, in 1787, and was created Baron Gwydyr in 1796.—ED.

proofs of both which sentiments she honoured him during his embassy in France. He preserved a letter-case, which I have seen, full of her notes addressed to him. They were written on private concerns, commissions that she requested him to execute for her, principally regarding English articles of dress or ornament, and other innocent or unimportant matters. Colonel Edward Dillon, with whom I was particularly acquainted, was likewise highly distinguished by her. He descended, I believe, collaterally, from the noble Irish family of the Earls of Roscommon, though his father carried on the trade of a wine merchant at Bordeaux. But he was commonly denominated "Le Comte Edouard Dillon" and "Le Beau Dillon." In my estimation he possessed little pretension to the latter epithet, but he surpassed most men in stature, like Lord Whitworth, Lord Hugh Seymour, and the other individuals on whom the French Queen cast a favourable eye. That she showed him some imprudent marks of predilection at a ball, which, when they took place, excited comment, is true, but they prove only indiscretion and levity on her part. Even the Count d'Artois was enumerated among her lovers by Parisian malignity, an accusation founded on his personal graces, his dissolute manners, and his state of separation, as well as of alienation, from his own wife. The hatred of the populace towards the Queen became naturally inflamed by this supposed mixture of a species of incest with matrimonial infidelity, and it was to the base passions of the multitude that such atrocious fabrications were addressed by her enemies.

If Marie Antoinette ever violated her nuptial vow (which, however, I am far from asserting), either Count Fersen or Monsieur de Vaudreuil were the favoured individuals. Of the former nobleman, who

was a native of Sweden, though of Scottish descent, I may hereafter have occasion to make mention. Vaudreuil had received from nature many qualities, personal and intellectual, of the most ingratiating description. The Queen delighting much in his society, he was naturally associated to the parties at Madame de Polignac's, where her Majesty never failed to be present. But there were other parties in which Vaudreuil performed a conspicuous part, and respecting which I feel it impossible to observe a total silence, yet of which it is difficult to speak without involuntarily awakening suspicions or reflections injurious to the memory of that princess. They were called "descampativos," being held in the gardens of Versailles, where, at a spot sheltered from view by lofty woods, about forty individuals, in equal numbers of both sexes, all selected or approved by the Queen, repaired at the appointed time. An altar of turf being erected, the election of a high priest followed, who, by virtue of his office, possessed the power of pairing the different couples for the space of one hour at his arbitrary pleasure. On pronouncing the word "descampativos," they all scampered off in different directions, being, however, bound by the compact to reassemble at the same place when the hour should be expired. Those persons who maintained that the amusement was altogether innocent as far as Marie Antoinette had in it any participation, observed that the King repeatedly sanctioned it by his presence. They added that he appeared to enjoy the diversion not less than any other individual of the company, and was himself repeatedly paired with different ladies. Vaudreuil generally performed the function of pontiff, and as that office conferred the power, not only of associating the respective couples, but of nominating his own partner, he frequently chose the

queen. Her enemies, indeed, asserted that one of her principal objects in setting on foot the diversion was to overcome by temptation combined with opportunity the scrupulous as well as troublesome fidelity observed by Louis towards her person and bed. In this expectation they pretended she was successful, partners such as would not interpose any impediments or delays to his Majesty's wishes being selected for him by the high priest. That a game or diversion such as I have described, and other similar amusements, which in common language we denominate romps, did occasionally take place at Versailles or at Trianon during the first year after Marie Antoinette became queen, when she was between twenty and twenty-five years of age, admits of no denial. I consider them, nevertheless, to have been exaggerated by her enemies, and to have been at least as free from stain or guilt as were the romping parties which we know our own Elizabeth permitted herself with Admiral Seymour, under her brother Edward's reign. Even Mary, Princess of Orange, afterwards queen of William III., a most exemplary and virtuous woman, yet did not hesitate at two-and-twenty to receive instructions from the Duke of Monmouth as her dancing-master, while he resided at the Hague towards the end of Charles II.'s reign. The Duke, it must be remembered, was the handsomest man of his time, and if we may credit contemporary authority, the petticoats of the scholar were adapted to the lesson. But Louis XVI. might exclaim with the Moor—

> "'Tis not to make me jealous
> To say—my wife is fair, feeds well, loves company,
> Is free of speech, sings, plays, and dances well:
> Where virtue is, these are more virtuous."

I do not, indeed, mean to maintain that the virtue

of the late Queen of France can be placed on the same level with the honour of her two immediate predecessors on the French throne, namely, Maria Theresa of Spain, consort of Louis XIV., or, Maria Lecszinska of Poland, the wife of Louis XV., princesses so correct in their deportment, that detraction never ventured to impute to either of them the slightest deviation from propriety of conduct. But on the other hand, it ought not to be forgotten that those queens, who fell far below Marie Antoinette in personal as well as in mental endowments, who wanted all her graces and powers of captivating mankind, were likewise, each of them, married to princes highly adorned by Nature and cast in her finest mould. Louis XVI. might inspire respect or affection or esteem, but did not appear even at twenty made to awaken sentiments of love. It demanded, consequently, a stronger principle of moral action to keep her in the right path than might have sufficed in the two former instances. With Anne of Austria she may be more justly compared, whose conjugal virtue forms a subject of historic doubt, neither above suspicion nor yet abandoned to censure. Like her, Marie Antoinette remained many years a wife before she became a mother. The birth of Louis XIV., born after more than two-and-twenty years of marriage, especially if we reflect on the extenuated state of Louis XIII. at the time, whose whole life was a perpetual disease, might well excite doubts of his queen's fidelity in the minds of her contemporaries. Marie Antoinette brought into the world a daughter before the expiration of the ninth year from the celebration of her nuptials, and the cause of her not having sooner gratified the expectations of the French by giving heirs to the monarchy, a fact which was well known and ascertained, depended not on her, but

on the King her husband. Both princesses were handsome, both inclined to gallantry and coquetry. Anne of Austria manifested for Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, no less than for Mazarin, as strong a partiality, and committed acts as imprudent as any which were ever attributed to the late Queen of France. She, I mean Anne of Austria, passed likewise a great part of her life in total separation from her unamiable husband, while the utmost external harmony, if not real affection, always subsisted between Louis XVI. and his consort. The balance of reputation between the two queens, inclines in favour of the latter princess. And how gloriously did she redeem the levities or the indiscretions committed at Trianon and at Versailles by the magnanimity which she displayed during her confinement in the Tuileries, at the Temple, and in the Conciergerie! What a display of conjugal duty and maternal tenderness did she not exhibit, what heroism and resources of mind, what superiority even to death did she not manifest, while in the power of that atrocious mob of rebels and assassins, denominated the Republican Government! Whatever may have been the measure of her errors while in the splendour of royal prosperity, she will be ranked by posterity among the most illustrious, high-minded, and unfortunate princesses who have appeared in modern ages.

The Count de Provence, who now reigns under the name of Louis XVIII.,[1] attracted in 1784, though so nearly allied to the throne, comparatively little national attention. In his person and in his demeanour he resembled the King his brother. Both were princes of sedentary habits, ill adapted for the energies of government in times of difficulty, and

[1] Popularly called Louis *dix-huitres*, on account of his love for the pleasures of the table.—ED.

scarcely fitted for the ordinary representations of royalty. When resident, as he sometimes was, at Paris, the Count de Provence held his court at the Luxembourg Palace, over which the Countess de Balbi presided, though with far inferior influence than the Pompadours or the Barrys exercised under his grandfather's reign. At no period of his life did the sex acquire over him the empire possessed by the mistresses of Louis XIV. and XV. As the Count and Countess de Provence neither had, nor were expected to have, any issue, their marriage could be considered as little more than a nominal union. The Count d'Artois only, of the three brothers, was almost ever seen in the capital, where he occasionally resorted in pursuit of pleasure, when disgusted with the dulness, insipidity, and tranquillity of Versailles. His figure was fine, above the middle size, his countenance pleasing, and his manners corresponded with his appearance; but unfortunately these exterior advantages were unaccompanied with economy, prudence, or attention to conciliate general esteem. He was not only supposed to be imbued with despotic principles, but his profusion had involved him in great embarrassments. During his visit to Gibraltar two years earlier, where he repaired with the Duke of Bourbon, accompanied by some of the young French nobility, in expectation of making his public entry into that fortress after its assumed surrender, he had acquired no military reputation.[1]

His excesses might seem to derive some apology from the conduct of his wife, who, however destitute of personal attractions, yet was accused of great irregularities. The proofs were even reported to have been so obtrusive as to induce the Court of

[1] The Paris wits said of him that the only battery he used was his "batterie de cuisine."—D.

Versailles to inform her father, Victor Amadeus III.,[1] King of Sardinia, that it was determined to send her back to Turin, in order that he might confine her in his own dominions. But his answer instantly repressed the intention. "I educated my daughter," replied he, "in the strictest precepts of virtue and of religion. She never had transgressed those rules when I gave her in marriage to the Count d'Artois. If his example or licentiousness, increased by the general dissolution of manners in the court of France, has perverted the mind and morals of his wife, let those who have produced the evil support its consequences. I will not receive the princess, nor permit her to pass my frontiers." So spirited and peremptory a refusal checked all further ideas of publicly disgracing her; but after the birth of the Dauphin in 1781, and of a second prince in 1785, she became almost extinct in the general recollection. Her husband no longer observed any measures towards her. At his beautiful retreat of "Bagatelle" in the "Bois de Boulogne," on the banks of the Seine, nearly midway between Versailles and Paris, where, with great taste and at a vast expense, he had assembled all that could minister to voluptuous enjoyment, the Count d'Artois, frequently accompanied by Mademoiselle Contat (at once the Thais and the Thalia of that period), passed many of his hours unconscious of the gathering tempest. I have not seen throughout Europe an edifice where pleasure had concentered more objects of gratification, heightened by the charms of sculpture, than were displayed in the apartments of "Bagatelle."

The Duke of Orleans, grandson to the celebrated and dissolute Regent of France, was far advanced

[1] He was the third Duke of Savoy of that name, but as King of Sardinia he was Victor Amadeus II.—D.

at this time towards his sixtieth year. Destitute of energy of character or of talents, moderate, unambitious, retired, he is hardly known to posterity, except as the father of a man whose criminal ambition eminently contributed soon afterwards to the subversion of the House of Bourbon and of his country.[1] The Duke had been long united in a second marriage with the Marchioness of Montesson, but the King refused to recognise her as Duchess of Orleans. Madame de Genlis, her niece, has commemorated the Marchioness in various parts of her voluminous Memoirs. The splendid residence of the Dukes of Orleans, the "Palais Royal," placed in the centre of Paris, then contrasted strongly with the ruinous palace of the Louvre, and the deserted edifice of the Tuileries, both which structures, stretching along the bank of the Seine in neglected majesty, wholly unvisited by the sovereign, seemed to reproach his absence. The Queen had indeed caused two or three apartments to be fitted up in the "Pavalion de Flore," at the extremity of one wing of the Tuileries, which commanded a charming view to the south, over the quays on both sides of the river. There she occasionally alighted, when amusement led her to visit Paris for a few hours, but where she had scarcely ever passed even a single night during fourteen years since her marriage. So totally abandoned by Louis XVI. was his own capital previous to the Revolution, and so unfit to receive him had the palace of the Tuileries become, in which he subsequently passed near three years, a nominal king, though in effect a prisoner, between 1789 and 1792. If the "Palais Royal" constituted in 1784 the noblest inhabited fabric of the French metropolis, the palace and gardens of

[1] Louis Philippe Joseph, Duc de Chartres, succeeded his father as Duc d'Orleans in 1785. He was guillotined 6th November 1793.—ED.

St. Cloud, which then belonged, not to the crown, but to the Duke of Orleans, presented a far more alluring aspect than the tame magnificence of Versailles or the joyless and melancholy expanse of Marly.[1] Its beautiful, cheerful, and picturesque position on a fine eminence overhanging the Seine, with the capital in full view, yet exempt from its inconveniences, the superb orangery (since become classic revolutionary ground in November 1799, when Bonaparte there seized on the government and extinguished the Directory)—lastly, the gardens and park, truly royal, extending on every side—these features might fully justify the Queen's predilection for St. Cloud. When, in addition to two such edifices, one situate in Paris and the other placed at an inconsiderable distance from its gates, we add the prodigious patrimonial possessions of the Duke of Orleans, scattered throughout various provinces of France, from the shore of the British Channel to the mountains of Auvergne, we cannot hesitate in pronouncing him to have been the most powerful, wealthy, and elevated subject in Europe.

Removed by one gradation farther from the succession to the crown, the Prince of Condé might nevertheless be considered as hardly inferior to the Duke of Orleans in all the attributes and accompaniments of grandeur. Descended as he was equally from the great Condé and from the illustrious family of Montmorency, which occupies so high a place in the history of France, in him the military spirit of the Bourbon line had not become extinct, as it seemed in some measure to have done in the King and in the Count de Provence. He had served with distinction in Germany during the war of 1756 under the late reign. The "Palais Bourbon," his residence at Paris, situate on the

[1] St. Cloud was bought for Marie Antoinette in 1785.—ED.

southern bank of the Seine, in a much more airy and salubrious part of the capital than the "Palais Royal," might almost vie with it in size and splendour. At Chantilly the Prince of Condé maintained a state scarcely less than royal, surrounded by every monument of feudal magnificence, combined with all the refinements of the eighteenth century. His only son, the Duke of Bourbon, was little known except by his passion for the chase, while the Duke d'Enghien, second in lineal descent from the Prince of Condé, whose savage execution took place in our own time, had only completed his twelfth year. We must go back to the thirteenth century in order to find a parallel to this atrocious act of blood, when young Conradin, heir to the crown of Naples, was beheaded by the tyrant Charles of Anjou. The Prince of Conti stood last in order among the collateral heirs to the throne, but he had no issue by his consort, a princess of Modena, and that branch of the royal line has since become extinct.

In 1784, when nearly eight hundred years had elapsed since Hugh Capet was proclaimed King of France at Noyon, no less a number than fifteen princes, all of whom descended from him in the male line through Louis IX. (commonly denominated St. Louis), still remained, every one competent to wear the crown. So uninterrupted a succession through so many centuries might well inspire that veneration which "the hoar of ages" invariably excites in the human mind. Every circumstance dear to recollection and powerful over the affections conspired indeed to render sacred the Capetian race. Charles V. and Charles VII. had each in turn rescued France from the English yoke. Louis XII. is known in history by the title of "Father of his People." To Francis I. was due the revival of letters and of arts. Henry IV. had

expelled the Spaniards from Paris and extinguished the rebellion of "the League." The love of glory and the national vanity had been gratified to their utmost extent by the conquests, the ostentatious largesses, and the magnificence of Louis XIV. A filiation of such length in masculine descent almost holds to prodigy, and has no parallel among the ancient or the modern crowned heads of Europe. We justly esteem as already old the reigning house of Oldenburg, by which family the Danes have been governed in the male line ever since the middle of the fifteenth century. Yet how recent is their elevation to the throne of Denmark, if compared with that of Hugh Capet in the year 987, a period long anterior to the Norman Conquest! The circumstance appears even more entitled to admiration if we contrast it with our own fugitive dynasties, which have followed each other in such rapid order, though all were perpetuated through females. To the three Norman princes and the usurper Stephen succeeded the Angevin or French sovereigns, whom we commonly call Plantagenets, though that name was, in fact, only a badge or distinction of chivalry, and who, amidst civil wars caused by disputed titles, maintained themselves on our throne considerably above three hundred years. They were supplanted by a race of Welsh monarchs, sprung from a private gentleman of the Isle of Anglesea. We next passed under the dominion of a Scottish race, to whom a Dutchman was substituted, and we are now transferred to a German family. From Egbert down to George III., in the lapse of a thousand years, only one real Englishman, properly so denominated, as sprung from a native stock, has reigned among us. I mean the brave but unfortunate Harold, who, after struggling ten months against foreign invaders, fell by the

stroke of an arrow at the battle of Hastings in 1066. Nothing except the yielding and passive conduct of Louis XVI., who would not resist or arrest insurrection, though he saw it organised for his destruction, could have overturned a throne so deeply established in opinion as was that of the Capets in France. He was not beheaded, like Charles I., after having endeavoured to defend his prerogatives. Louis, more weak than Charles the Simple, who was dethroned in the tenth century and died a prisoner at Peronne, or than our Henry VI., seemed to tender his throat to the assassin.

Animal magnetism constituted at this time the rage in the French metropolis, of which pretended discovery Mesmer and Deslon claimed the merit. Scarcely could Plato or Epicurus have boasted of more numerous or devoted followers than did these empirics. Their school was crowded with disciples, proselytes, or patients of both sexes and of all ranks. Seated round a table amidst the appalling magnetic apparatus, with minds already prepared or subdued to the arts of the operator, they waited for the shock, or, as it was technically termed, the crisis.

To the celebrated Beaumarchais the Parisians owed the obligation of charming their leisure by a dramatic exhibition of extraordinary interest. I mean the "Folle Journée," or "Le Mariage de Figaro." The scene is placed at Seville. There is in the very name of Spain something that always awakens ideas of adventure, gallantry, and intrigue, impressions which "Gil Blas" and "Don Quixote," Le Sage and Cervantes, have tended to excite in the imagination. The "Beggars' Opera," when it first appeared in London, could not have been received with more enthusiasm than was manifested for the production of Beaumarchais. Figaro attracted as

many admirers as ever Macheath had done; and Lavinia Fenton, who played the part of Polly, which character raised her to the rank of Duchess of Bolton, could not exceed the licentious graces displayed by Mademoiselle Contat in Suzanne. I was present several times at the performance with increased pleasure, though, on account of various expressions or allusions contained in it, the author and the comedy lay equally under the displeasure of the Court.

Among the objects of curiosity then to be seen at Paris was the shirt which Henry IV. wore when he received his mortal wound from the hand of Ravaillac on the 14th day of May 1610. It was exhibited at a booth on the "Boulevard de Bondi," accompanied with every attestation that could identify it as the shirt of Henry, which, having become at the time a perquisite of his first valet of the bedchamber, had been conveyed with care to his descendants, and on their extinction was finally exposed to sale. The shirt was composed of cotton, ornamented with a broad lace round the collar and the breast. But the circumstance that seemed most to prove its identity was the sight of the two fractures or lacerations produced by the assassin's knife. One was comparatively small, while the other, corresponding with the region of the heart, disclosed a larger rent or orifice. We know that Ravaillac gave the King two stabs, the first on the ribs, when the weapon glanced off without inflicting a deep wound; the second transfixed the heart and deprived him of life almost on the moment, he being suffocated in his own blood before the coach in which he sat could reach the palace of the Louvre, at the distance of a few hundred paces. I have seen the shirt worn by Charles I. on the scaffold, preserved at Lord Ashburnham's seat in Sussex, which was transmitted to posterity by a collateral ancestor of the present

Earl, who, as one of the grooms of the bedchamber, attended Charles on the 30th of January 1649. Both these shirts appeared to have been originally almost steeped in blood, though time has discharged from them the crimson colour, but they do not produce a similar effect on the mind. Charles's catastrophe, like that of Louis XVI., excites just compassion. Of Henry it may be asserted with truth, that though the defects of his character were great, he nevertheless occupies the highest place in our esteem and affection among the kings who have reigned in modern Europe. Notwithstanding the degree of idolatry which the French possess for his memory, we may justly remark that, in the lapse of more than two hundred years since his assassination, no prince of the blood royal has ever been christened by the name of Henry, till Louis XVIII. so named the Duchess of Berri's son. We learn from the "Mémoires de St. Simon," and from other authentic sources, that even the bare mention of his illustrious grandfather was painful to the bigoted ears of Louis XIV. The deadly spot of Hugonotism, ineffaceable in the estimation of monks and Jesuits, adhered to Henry like the poisoned shirt of Nessus, even after his readmission into the Catholic Church, and cancelled or obscured his heroic exertions for the extrication of France from foreign and domestic enemies. Nor did Louis, environed with the pomp of Versailles, recollect without repugnance how humble were the little courts of Pau and of Nerac, concealed among the mountains of the Pyrenees in the distant province of Gascony, where Henry passed his youth, an exile and a heretic, proscribed or persecuted by the last kings of the race of Valois.

Another monument which arrested my attention was the Castle of Vincennes. During the course of ten years since Louis XVI.'s accession in 1774,

many of the state prisons had been successively suppressed and extinguished, a measure originating in the progressive spirit of political freedom throughout the nation, which required a relaxation of the ancient despotism. Among the objects of abolition and of retrenchment, these receptacles of human misery presented themselves to the consideration of the Baron de Breteuil, Minister of the Interior. On his representation it was determined to make a reduction in their number throughout France, and the great tower or "donjon" of the Castle of Vincennes was among the first of that description thrown open to curiosity. I visited it twice, the last time in company with the present Lord Gwydir, then Sir Peter Burrell. Several days had been employed, by order of the Government, in erasing the inscriptions left on the walls of the various chambers or cells, before they were submitted in 1784 to the public eye. The genius of history seemed to accompany the visitor of this Gothic place through the dark and winding passages, reminding him at every step of the events that had taken place within its gloomy recesses. Here expired our Henry V. in 1422 of a disease which had nearly cut short Louis XIV.'s career, but which the advanced state of surgical skill in the seventeenth century enabled him to surmount. Henry disappeared at the moment when he was about to ascend the throne of France, and in the full vigour of his age. Like Alexander in antiquity, he died at thirty-three, withdrawn by Providence as if in mercy to the French and English nations. To the former, as by his decease and the long minority of his feeble son the Capetian line reconquered their heritage. Not less fortunately for us, since the greatest national calamities would necessarily have resulted from the annexation of England to the French monarchy. Under such circumstances, if the two countries

could have permanently remained beneath the dominion of one sovereign, Paris must have become the principal seat of government, while London would have sunk, like Dublin, into the mere residence of a viceroy.

Here, too, at Vincennes, Charles IX. of France breathed his last in 1574, before he had accomplished his twenty-fifth year, a prince whose name, on account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which took place under his reign, is never pronounced without detestation, but who possessed many qualities worthy the throne—courage, vigilance, activity, energy, and a love of the fine arts in all their branches not less ardent than inspired his grandfather, Francis I., if these noble seeds had not been choked and perverted to purposes of destruction by his mother, Catherine de Medicis. I contemplated with no common interest another vaulted apartment of considerable size, in which "the great Condé," his brother the Prince of Conti, and their brother-in-law the Duke de Longueville, were confined during near thirteen months by Cardinal Mazarin in 1650 and the following year. It is curious to reflect that the illustrious prince who annihilated the Spanish bands at Rocroy, and whose triumphs constitute so brilliant a part of the French annals, should have passed much of his youth and middle life in prison, in exile, or in rebellion, amidst privations of every kind. My conductor did not omit to point out to me the parapet from which Francis, Duke de Beaufort, grandson of Henry IV. by Gabriel d'Estrée, effected his escape in 1648 from this fortress, after having been shut up in it more than five years by order of Anne of Austria, then Regent of France. He occupied a distinguished place in the civil wars of the "Fronde," under Louis XIV.'s minority, but is otherwise hardly known to posterity. Among all

the descendants of Henry by Gabrielle, the Duke de Vendôme alone, his great-grandson, who, at the commencement of the last century, commanded the armies of Philip V. in Spain with so much glory,[1] seemed to inherit any portion of Henry's military talents. Philip remarking to him this circumstance, and observing that neither his father nor grandfather had been distinguished in the field, "Sire," answered the Duke, "c'est que je tire mon génie de plus loin."

Among all the attributes or instruments of despotism, there is not one which impresses the mind with more abhorrence or awakens images of a more hateful description than a state prison. Bonaparte, contemplated in the character of a destroyer, is not equally odious as when we see in him a jailor. Perhaps we should not exaggerate if we assume that in the progress of his flagitious invasion of Spain and in the calamitous retreat from Moscow he sacrificed to his policy, to his ambition, or to his enmities, half a million of human beings. Yet does he excite far more detestation when his name is coupled with those of the Duke d'Enghien, of Toussaint l'Ouverture, of Pichegru, and of Captain Wright, all of whom we suppose to have been sacrificed in different ways by his secret orders in the gloom of their cells. When Gray exclaims—

> "Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame,
> With many a foul and midnight murder fed!"

we seem to behold passing before us the shades of those royal and noble victims who in different ages have there fallen beneath the dagger or by more concealed and atrocious means. Such as the Tower of London is described by Gray were the castles appropriated to the reception of state criminals

[1] In the War of the Succession.—ED.

under Louis XIII., when Cardinal Richelieu filled them with the first nobility of France. Many of the memoirs written during that period of time and transmitted to us were composed by persons immured in the Bastile or at Vincennes. The arbitrary temper of Louis XIV., inflamed during the last thirty years of his reign by a spirit of intolerant bigotry, maintained the same detestable system, and crowded with unfortunate individuals the fortresses allotted for their detention. We may see in the charming memoirs of Madame de Stael, who was herself a prisoner in the Bastile, how full were its apartments between 1717 and 1720, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans. The conspiracies of various kinds set on foot under the auspices of Philip V., King of Spain, in order to dispossess that prince of the supreme authority in France, compelled him, contrary to his natural disposition, to immure his enemies in the various castles scattered throughout the French territories. Louis XV., indolent as well as unfeeling in his natural disposition, and towards the conclusion of his career lost, like Tiberius at Capræa, to shame and to public decorum, allowed his Ministers or his mistresses to issue "lettres de cachet" on the slightest pretences. But the natural benignity of his successor, however torpid, led him to reject all measures of severity. It was more in consequence of the relaxation of the royal power than from the exertion of its despotism that the monarchy was first shaken and finally subverted. When, in July 1789, the insurgent populace, aided by the "Gardes Françaises," burst into the Bastile, they found throughout that edifice only seven captives. A century earlier, in 1689, if a similar insurrection had taken place, every subterranean dungeon, cell, and chamber on the different floors, up to the calottes or circular vaulted rooms

in which the towers all terminated, would have exhibited one or more unfortunate tenants. So much had the humane character of the monarch, aided by the spirit of the times, already mitigated the kingly authority previous to the commencement of the French Revolution.

Conversing in the month of June 1798 with Sir Sydney Smith, who was then in London, relative to his detention in the Temple, from which prison he had effected his escape only about four weeks, he assured me that in the room which had been occupied by Louis XVI., where he was himself confined during three-and-twenty months, there remained no inscription, trace, or vestige of that ill-fated prince, so carefully had they been all erased. But, he added, that he had himself left, in a very obscure corner of the chamber, a short note addressed to Bonaparte, who, he doubted not, would sooner or later succeed him there. He repeated to me the words of the billet, which contained some advice to Napoleon, accompanied with very severe animadversions on the conduct of the Directory. Sir Sydney told me that the jailor or keeper of the Temple had allowed him to sup in Paris not less than twelve different evenings during his abode in that prison. On these occasions he always pledged his word of honour to be there again by a certain hour, never exceeding half-past nine, and he fulfilled his engagement with scrupulous exactitude. Little difficulty, he said, was experienced in getting him out of the Temple, but very great precautions became necessary to secure his return into it undiscovered. Nearly about the same period I had more than one conversation with Lieutenant Wright, Sir Sydney's brave and unhappy comrade, who had been shut up with him in the Temple. As he was captured with Sir Sidney at the time when the frigate, having

grounded near the mouth of the Seine, not far from Havre de Grace, surrendered to the enemy, so he likewise recovered his liberty in May 1798. On the 15th of the following month I called on Mr. Wright at the Prince of Wales's Hotel, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, when he made me the following recital. "I was confined," he said, "for nearly two years in the room where the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, had been immured. My first employment was to ascertain by a most minute and accurate search over every part of the chamber whether either she or her daughter, or the Princess Elizabeth her sister-in-law, had left behind them any memorial of their residence. After the strictest examination, I could discover only two such indications. The first was an inscription, as I apprehend, in the Queen's handwriting, and contained these few words—

'La tour du Temple est l'Enfer.'

Near it were two marks, one above the other, scratched on the wall, which, I imagine, indicated the respective height of her two children. The second inscription, which had been pricked or delineated by Madame Royale, was to this effect :—

'Marie Therese Charlotte est la plus malheureuse personne du monde. Elle ne peut pas recevoir des nouvelles de son pere, ni de sa mere, quoique elle l'est demandé mille fois.'

No doubt these lines were written subsequent to the separation of that unhappy family."

I copied them, as they here appear, from the original paper in Sir Sydney Smith's possession. The inaccuracies of expression, by which the Princess used "recevoir" instead of "procurer," and the word "l'est" where she should have written "l'ait," when venting her woes, like the daughter of Pandion, to

the walls of her prison ;—these errors cannot surprise if we reflect that she was only thirteen years and eight months old at the time when she accompanied her father and mother to the Temple. After that lamentable day her mind could not have been in a state to receive many aids of education or improvement.

Before I quit the subject of the Temple, I cannot help remarking on the singular fact of Napoleon's having demolished that edifice to the last stone. I visited the spot where it once stood three times in the course of the year 1816. Grass now covers the place, and small stakes driven into the ground, from one to the other of which cords are stretched, mark the exact figure, as well as dimensions, of the two turrets where the King, Queen, and royal family were confined. Not a remain of the ancient structure exists more than survives of Babylon or of Troy. What were the motives that impelled the Corsican Emperor to level it with the earth ? Certainly not attachment or respect or commiseration for the Bourbons, whom he persecuted, dreaded, and destroyed when they fell into his power. It can only be explained on the supposition, universally credited at Paris, that he regarded the castle which had immured the last sovereigns of the Capetian line as a building of evil omen, on which he feared to fix his eyes, within whose walls, that had so often witnessed the piercing lamentations of the illustrious captives there detained, a change of fortune might at any moment confine himself. He therefore commanded and completed its demolition.

The English Ministers of the year 1815 have incurred some censure for having transferred Napoleon, when he threw himself on their generosity, to a rock in the other hemisphere. But what fortress could securely hold an individual of such colossal

dimensions? Happily we have no state prisons. Neither Dumbarton Castle nor the Tower of London would have been a safe place of detention. A popular commotion might set him free at any moment, and place him at the head of a revolutionary army in the centre of the kingdom. The consciousness that he existed in the midst of us must have operated of itself to produce insurrection. It was of the last necessity to remove him to a distance from Europe. But to irritate him after his fall by perpetual insults, to send out a governor for the express purpose, and to accelerate his end by premeditated acts of unnecessary severity,—for these infractions of humanity our Ministers must answer to posterity.

[*October* 1784.] A singular accident befell the King soon after my return from Paris to London, which, however, was happily unattended with any injurious consequences. During the whole course of his reign, as he discharged scrupulously the great duties imposed on him by Providence when he was placed at the head of the British empire and constitution, so he did not fail in regularly performing the minor obligations required of him in his kingly character. Among the latter functions was comprehended the act of holding levées and drawing-rooms. With such punctual and unremitting accuracy did he receive the compliments of his nobility and gentry at St. James's, that during winter two weekly levées always took place, namely, on the Wednesday and the Friday, to which was added a third during the meeting of parliament after Christmas, on Mondays, intended particularly for members of the House of Commons. The Queen generally held her drawing-room every Thursday throughout the winter, at which his Majesty never failed to be present, thus devoting a large portion of four mornings out of seven for a great part of the year to this tiresome





ceremony. It must, however, be owned that no prince ever seemed to suffer less, while so employed, than George III. Far from endeavouring to accelerate its termination, he always appeared desirous of prolonging it. I have frequently seen him detain the Queen more than half-an-hour, after she had done the honours of the circle, and seemed extenuated with fatigue, while he engaged in an endless *tête-à-tête* with a foreign Minister or an agreeable courtier. No princess in Europe conducted herself with more suavity, ease, and condescension in her own drawing-room than did her present Majesty. In that act, as in every other throughout her whole life, she has evinced excellent common sense, great command over herself, and admirable judgment. During more than half a century that she has resided in this island, placed continually in most delicate and difficult circumstances, she has not made a single false step. In consequence of the frequency and regularity of levées, they were often thinly attended, and it was not unusual for the King, who always came early to St. James's, to find himself ready for commencing the ceremony before a sufficient number of persons had assembled for the purpose. He then usually sent out the groom of the bedchamber in waiting to reconnoitre the ground, and to report to him on the subject. His levées were held (most appropriately) in a bedchamber of very moderate dimensions, joining the closet, properly and technically so denominated, into which he generally retired when the levée concluded. That bedchamber might with reason be deemed classic ground, as in it took place the birth of James II.'s son in 1688. The foreign Ministers ranged themselves at the levées of George III. from the fireplace along the foot of the bed. With those representatives of crowned heads

his Majesty rarely failed to enter into diffuse conversations, so that by the time he approached the door of the apartment he commonly found a great crowd pressing for notice. As he talked with one individual he cast his regards from time to time on the person who stood next, thus anticipating and preparing himself before he began a new dialogue.

I observed that an accident befell the King which might have been followed by serious consequences. It happened in the following manner. Towards the beginning of October his Majesty, whose punctuality in holding his levées I have already noticed, leaving Windsor, set out on horseback from the Queen's Lodge at half-past eight on a Wednesday morning, notwithstanding the very threatening aspect of the weather. He was only attended by Major Manners (now the General of that name), who happened to be his equerry in waiting, and a groom. Before they reached Colnbrook it began to rain with violence, but the King, wrapping himself in his greatcoat, pushed on at greater speed. As he passed over Turnham Green, a countryman, dressed in a common smock-frock, mounted on a sort of cart-horse, and advancing at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, encountered him. His Majesty attempting to pass between him and a loaded waggon going towards London, received a blow on one of his knees from the man, and had nearly been thrown upon the waggon. Major Manners, who was close behind, and who saw the accident without being able to prevent it, riding up to the fellow, while he doubled his horsewhip, after some execrations, exclaimed, "You scoundrel, don't you see it is the King?" The unfortunate countryman, thus rudely accosted, remaining motionless and speechless, while Manners and the servant both seemed about to inflict chastisement on him,

the King instantly interposed. "Don't strike him on any account," said his Majesty. "He has hurt my knee, but it was altogether an accident. I shall receive no injury from it." So saying, he continued his journey towards London. General Manners assured me that on looking back so long as he could perceive the man, he remained still nearly in the same attitude and posture, like a person overcome with amazement in the middle of the high-road. Before noon his Majesty arrived at the Queen's House, and his first endeavour was exerted to procure some arquebusade, but in consequence of the violence of the rain, all the domestics assuming as certain that he would come in a carriage, and would drive straight to St. James's, scarcely any person could be found in attendance. A maid-servant having at length brought him the arquebusade, his Majesty pulled down his stocking, and while Manners held the bottle the King rubbed his knee, which was black and had received a great contusion. But after having plentifully bathed the part affected, he immediately got into his sedan-chair, repaired to St. James's, dressed himself, and held his levée, precisely as though no misadventure had befallen him.

[*November* 1784.] In the autumn the King, availing himself of Lord Waldegrave's[1] decease, who was Colonel of the Coldstream regiment of Guards, conferred the command on his own second son, Prince Frederick. About a month subsequent his Majesty created him Duke of York and Albany, by the former of which titles he has since been known, instead of Bishop of Osnaburgh, as he was previously designated in common conversation. Desirous to remove him from the society of his elder brother, and at the same time to render

[1] John, third Earl of Waldegrave.—ED.

him acquainted with Germany, particularly with the Electoral dominions, George III., as early as the close of the year 1781, had sent him over to Hanover. From that city, which constituted his residence and his headquarters, he made occasional excursions to the Prussian, Saxon, and Austrian courts, with a view principally to the attainment of military knowledge, in order that he might in due time fill the important post of Commander-in-Chief, destined for him by his father.[1] George II. had in like manner placed his second son at the head of the British army. That the present King from a very early age regarded Frederick with predilection is a fact too well known to need any proof. Nor can we wonder at his feeling a preference towards a prince in whose person, manners, and the leading features of his character or deportment he beheld himself much more faithfully reflected than in the Prince of Wales.

The political sky being now calm and the First Minister confirmed in power, towards the conclusion of November two creations took place on which the eyes of the whole kingdom were turned with interest. I have already had occasion to remark, that with the late Marquis of Rockingham, who died in July 1782, expired the gradation or title of Marquis in this country.[2] During nearly two years and a half

[1] He was for thirty-two years Commander-in-Chief, with a short interval in 1809.—ED.

[2] The title was first conferred in England by Richard II. on Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, created Marquis of Dublin, 1385. Wraxall is thus mistaken in saying that down to his time the title had never been introduced into Ireland. Of the present Irish marquisates, the oldest dates only from 1789. Of the English marquises who are heads of families, few are of older date than the oldest Irish marquisate, saving only Winchester, which dates from 1551; but in Lord Rockingham's time, the title of Marquis of Winchester belonged to the eldest son of the Duke of Bolton. At the death of the sixth and last Duke in 1744, the title of Marquis of Winchester fell to a fourth cousin, his nearest kinsman, George Paulet. Of the three Scotch

that rank of the peerage was, if I may so express myself, blotted out of the Red Book of England, while three marquisates then existed in Scotland. In Ireland the title had never been introduced. To this rank, therefore, Earl Temple and the Earl of Shelburne were now raised.[1] The former nobleman, who stood in a close degree of consanguinity to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, besides his hereditary claims and his vast landed property, sustained by great parliamentary interest, might justly plead his recent services to the sovereign. He first of all the nobility in the realm, having demanded an audience of the King, had disclosed to him the dangerous nature of Fox's East India Bill, and its provisions as they regarded the crown, facts which impelled his Majesty to adopt vigorous measures for arresting its further progress. The title of Buckingham was conferred on him, which as a dukedom awakens recollections that carry us back to the Tudor, and even to the Plantagenet times. It was revived by James I. in the person of his favourite Villiers. Queen Anne bestowed on Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, the dukedom, not of Buckingham, but of Buckinghamshire. In consequence of Lord Temple's being raised to the marquisate, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who had been previously accustomed to omit the last syllable, and to call as well as to sign himself Buckingham, became compelled to resume the former denomination and signature, a necessity with which he somewhat reluctantly complied. The Marquis of Buckingham, like his two younger brothers, possessed strong intellectual powers sustained by a most retentive memory, by habits of application and inexhaustible

Marquisates, Queensberry, Tweeddale, and Lothian, their creations date respectively as follows, 1682, 1694, and 1701.—D.

[1] Marquis of Buckingham and Marquis of Lansdowne.—Ed.

information upon almost every subject. While Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland during the Earl of Shelburne's Administration, I believe he gave as much satisfaction to the nobility and people of that island as any man could do whose disinclination to wine or conviviality led him to pass little time at table, and to devote himself almost entirely to the labour of the Cabinet. His faculties appear nevertheless to have been adapted more to ornament private life than for conducting public business. By his hasty acceptance of the post of Secretary of State in December 1783, and his still more hasty resignation of it scarcely forty-eight hours afterwards, he had nearly overset Pitt's Administration before it was well constituted. To the office of First Lord of the Admiralty he always anxiously aspired, but fortune was not equally propitious to his wishes as she had shown herself to those of the Duke of Richmond in placing him at the head of the Ordnance. During Pitt's long Ministry, Lord Buckingham's talents were only once called out as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, after the Duke of Rutland's death, and he passed his life in dignified repose at Stowe, residing little in London, nor appearing often in the House of Peers. On the arrival of Louis XVIII. and his expatriated family in this country, when compelled to quit the Russian territories, the noble hospitality with which he received, lodged, and entertained those illustrious fugitives excited high admiration. They were treated by him and the Marchioness[1] with the same honours and testimonies of respect (even to the formalities of royal etiquette, none of which were omitted), as if the King had been seated on

[1] Mary Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Robert, Earl Nugent, married to Earl Temple, April 16, 1775. She was a Roman Catholic.—ED.

the throne of his ancestors, and had visited England merely for amusement.

If the dignity bestowed on Lord Temple awakened attention, much greater speculation arose on the supposed motives of the Minister for elevating the Earl of Shelburne to the same rank in the peerage, by the title of Lansdowne. An evident coldness, if not alienation, had long subsisted between him and Pitt, nor had Lord Shelburne taken any part in the discussions of the Upper House of Parliament during the course of the late session. At the time of his resignation in February 1783, reports injurious to his public character had been industriously spread by his political enemies. Pitt defended him, it is true, in the House of Commons with indignant warmth from those aspersions, but it was naturally demanded by men attentive to the course of events why, if Mr. Pitt was convinced of the falsity of such imputations, did he not associate his former principal to the new Cabinet when he himself became First Minister in the following month of December. I confess that this fact appeared to me for a long time difficult of solution or of explanation, except by supposing that Pitt had discovered reasons for believing the charges to be true, which he had antecedently reprobated as destitute of foundation. But I am inclined, on more recent information, to consider the accusations as altogether calumnious. The elevation of Lord Shelburne from the rank of an English baron,[1] to which dignity his father had been raised by George II. in 1760, to that of a marquis, thus overleaping two gradations of the British peerage, might be considered by his former political pupil as an ample remuneration for having originally brought him forward into Administration. The title of Shelburne,

[1] Baron Wycombe, of Chipping Wycombe.—ED.

it should be remembered, was only an Irish earldom. I know, indeed, that the marquisate was understood to have been given and to have been accepted as a receipt in full for all past demands; but that it did not produce any cordial co-operation or union between the giver and the receiver became fully manifest by Lord Lansdowne's subsequent conduct in Parliament.

[*December* 1784.] As if Pitt had intended to show that the augmentation of rank conferred on Lord Shelburne was designed to operate as an extinguisher on all prospective expectations of employment, the Cabinet office of Privy Seal, which, ever since the Duke of Rutland's nomination to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, had been put into commission, was now filled up with the name of Earl Gower. That nobleman, who had previously occupied the post of President of the Council, made way for Lord Camden, facilitating probably thereby his own elevation, within little more than a year, to the same rank which had just been bestowed on Lord Temple and on Lord Shelburne. Early in 1786 he was created Marquis of Stafford.[1] His abilities were moderate, but his person and manners had in them great dignity. His vast property, when added to his alliances of consanguinity or marriage with the first ducal families in this country, the Rutlands, Bedfords, Dorsets, and Bridgewaters, rendered him one of the most considerable subjects in the kingdom.

At this time, having survived the tempests by which the capital and the court had been so long agitated, expired Dr. Samuel Johnson, a name which cannot be pronounced without veneration! I consider him as the most illustrious and universal man of letters whom I have personally known in my time, because I contemplate Burke more as an

[1] His son, the second Marquis, was created Duke of Sutherland in 1833.—ED.

orator than as an author, whatever fame he may have acquired by his writings. Gibbon's reputation, however deservedly high, is limited to a single branch of composition and to a single work. With Hume and Robertson I was not acquainted. Adam Smith, Jacob Bryant, and Horace Walpole—all of whom I knew—eminent as were their talents, could not, on the whole, sustain a competition with Johnson. Those persons who, like Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, cannot dispense with elegance of manners, and who prefer urbanity before the greatest intellectual powers, must necessarily have estimated Johnson as "a respectable Hottentot." Such he frequently was when in company. Such I have myself found him. But such, likewise, as we know, was Swift, whose cynical and morose temper often set at defiance all the rules of polished society. With Addison it has always appeared to me that Johnson may be more aptly compared than with any other writer of eminence who flourished during the course of the eighteenth century. Both were moralists, both poets. Both have left us their travels—Addison through Italy, Johnson to the Hebrides. As the former composed only one tragedy, "Cato," so the latter produced only a single tragic piece, "Irene." If, as must be allowed, the superiority in that walk of composition rests decidedly with Addison, we shall probably be led to admit, on the other hand, that none of his poetical works, neither "Blenheim" nor the "Letter to the Earl of Halifax," elegant and classic as they are, can be placed in competition with the "Imitations of the Third and of the Tenth Satires of Juvenal." "The Rambler," though not equal to "The Spectator," yet cannot be rated very far below it. And after discussing their respective merits as men of genius, what shall we say to the labours of Johnson? His Dictionary stands alone as a monument of

human ability, perseverance, and knowledge. We can oppose to it nothing on the part of Addison. It is true that he wrote a comedy, on which experiment Johnson never ventured; but "The Drummer," though it may serve to prove that Addison could woo the comic muse (just as "The Mourning Bride" may be cited to show that Congreve could compose a tragedy), yet does not serve greatly to augment the measure of his fame. Besides, "Rasselas" more than counterbalances it. On the whole, I believe that in 1818 the name of Addison may stand highest in general estimation, but I am by no means sure of its maintaining that pre-eminence a century hence. Notwithstanding his constitutional fear of dissolution, Johnson died at last with great serenity and resignation, preserving undiminished his faculties at more than seventy-five—a prerogative denied by Providence to Swift. He was followed to the grave by Burke, who had not omitted to visit him during his illness; by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and by many other men of literary eminence. He has no monument erected to him in Westminster Abbey,[1] nor did he indeed need any sepulchral honours, inscriptions, or panegyrics: Boswell has transmitted him to the latest posterity. The flat stone that covers his remains in Poets' Corner, on which I have lately stood, awakens involuntary sentiments of admiration and respect.

[*January* 1785.] We are now arrived at a period of time which presents a striking contrast to the portion of George III.'s reign that we have hitherto reviewed. From the meeting of Parliament towards the close of 1780 down to its dissolution in March 1784, the whole interval exhibits a scene of fermentation approaching to convulsion. Twice the government had been wholly suspended. First,

[1] After much discussion, it was decided that his monument should be placed under the dome of St. Paul's.—ED.

during six weeks subsequent to Lord Shelburne's resignation in February 1783, and again for a considerably longer space while Pitt and the Coalition contended for power. Five Administrations had rapidly succeeded each other. Even when Pitt, having finally surmounted all opposition, might be said almost to dictate his pleasure to the new Parliament, yet the troubled waves did not instantly subside. The great struggle carried on in Westminster, which was ultimately decided in Fox's favour by "the interposition of female charms" far more than by his own exertions or the efforts of his friends, had no sooner terminated than his persecution commenced within the walls of the House of Commons. Overborne by numbers, he could only appeal to the justice of another session and to the operation of time on the minds of his opponents. The new East India Bill which followed gave rise to the most acrimonious discussions. But with the prorogation a calm took place, and from the autumn of 1784 down to that of 1788 the sterility of political events may be said to equal their multiplicity and importance during the four preceding years. The court of George III.—if a prince who led a patriarchal life in the bosom of his family could be said properly to have had any court—never furnished other than scanty materials, and Parliament, subdued by the ability or captivated by the eloquence of Pitt, no longer presented an arena on which the two candidates for power triumphed in their turn. Fox, supported only by a few steady adherents, still maintained indeed an unequal conflict, but till the King's alarming seizure and temporary privation of intellect in October 1788 took place, Administration scarcely acknowledged any limits to their influence over the legislative body.

[25*th January* 1785.] A species of compulsory unanimity characterised the opening of the session. The Minister, probably mindful of the severe animadversions which had been thrown upon the prolixity as well as on the ambiguity of the speech pronounced by his Majesty two years earlier, when the Earl of Shelburne presided in the councils of the crown, and when he was himself Chancellor of the Exchequer, seemed on the present occasion to have studied brevity if not perspicuity.[1] Lord Surrey, nevertheless, rising, not only demanded an explanation of various obscure passages contained in it, but arraigned its general composition as presenting matter of strong disapprobation, or rather of alarm; while Burke accused the Administration of renewing in their persons the "Tyrii bilingues" of Virgil. No division was, however, attempted. Everything bent before the new Minister, and such unquestionably would have been the spirit manifested by the House if Pitt had limited his demands to measures of general or of national policy. The junction of Lord North and Fox, followed at a short interval by their East India Bill, had excited such universal condemnation that it became necessary for Pitt to commit some act by which he should diminish his high reputation before his opponents could at all contend with him in Parliament. During the whole period of time since the elevation of the Hanover family to the throne, no House of Commons, in the lapse of seventy years, had been chosen on principles so pure as the body of men who met in 1784. Scarcely any money was disbursed by the Treasury, at least on this side of the Tweed, for the purpose of securing elections. Enthusiasm and loyalty, or, as Fox pretended, im-

[1] Windham used to say that Pitt was always so prepared that he could give a King's speech offhand.—ED.

posture and delusion, rendered almost unnecessary such unconstitutional means of procuring support. It forms matter of regret that Pitt should have lent himself to acts which could be interpreted as vindictive or allied to the spirit of persecution; but no sooner did he adopt those measures than he instantly found the limit of his own ascendancy over the very individuals who on almost all other points followed him with a sort of implicit submission.

The scrutiny granted by the high bailiff of Westminster, while he at the same time refused to make any return of members, as the precept enjoined him to do, formed in itself a violation of the constitution. It was, besides, most oppressive towards Fox, who ought to have been seated, leaving Sir Cecil Wray to seek redress by petition. Even Lord Hood seemed to forget his own dignity while thus acquiescing in his exclusion from the House of Commons with a view to favour the Ministerial purposes. Westminster remained wholly unrepresented. Meanwhile the scrutiny proceeded, though of necessity with a slow pace, the expense attending it, which was enormous, being supported by the Dukes of Devonshire, Portland, and the other great leaders of the Whig party, as Fox possessed no funds whatsoever, and scarcely could raise money sufficient for his personal subsistence. His creditors had even become so numerous or importunate about this time, that his effects and books being seized at his lodgings, contiguous to Brookes's in St. James's Street, and sold, he was reduced during a few days or weeks to take refuge at the house of a friend, Mr. Moore, in Sackville Street, Piccadilly. Dudley Long, who has since assumed the name of North, and who represented the borough of Grimsby in successive Parliaments, enjoyed a distinguished place in Fox's friendship. He was, indeed, one

of Fox's most steady adherents, and had been destined for the office of a supreme councillor in Bengal, if the memorable East India Bill of 1783 had been carried into effect. Few men of his time possessed greater convivial powers enlivened by wit. Fox, whose pecuniary embarrassments were universally recognised, being attacked by a severe indisposition which confined him to his apartment, Dudley Long frequently visited him. In the course of conversation, Fox, alluding to his complaints, remarked that he was compelled to observe much regularity in his diet and hours, adding, "I live by rule, like clockwork." "Yes," replied Dudley, "I suppose you mean that you go tick, tick, tick."

[*1st—9th February* 1785.] Welbore Ellis, the patriarch of the Opposition, commenced the proceedings relative to the Westminster scrutiny by moving for the attendance of the high bailiff at the bar. His examination, followed by that of his two assessors, Mr. Hargrave and Arthur Murphy (the latter of whom has attained to higher eminence in our time as a man of letters than to legal distinction in Westminster Hall), was accompanied by circumstances of great party violence. Corbett, the high bailiff, assailed by questions calculated to force from him disclosures favourable to Fox, manifested not only reluctance in answering, but ingenuity in evading inquiries. At the head of the Ministerial advocates and defenders stood forward Lord Mulgrave, who might be considered as in the highroad to a British peerage. To that dignity he had indeed some pretensions, being descended in the maternal line from the celebrated Lord Hervey, the Sporus of Pope, as well as from the Annesleys, Earls of Anglesea. After having strenuously supported, during successive sessions, the Earl of Sandwich,

then First Lord of the Admiralty, he had followed Dundas's example by joining the new Administration. While Murphy remained under examination, Fox, perceiving his dislike to give evidence on certain points connected with the scrutiny, observed that "the gentleman seemed unwilling to make a plain answer to a plain question." Lord Mulgrave instantly rising, severely animadverted on Fox's expression, as not only unbecoming, but insulting to Murphy. Far, however, from conceding or apologising, Fox repeated it, adding, "The noble Lord may assume, if he pleases, the office of my censor. There is no man in this assembly whose censure I hold in less consideration. But he never shall compel me to retract a single syllable of my assertion."

[*9th February* 1785.] Ellis having moved for an immediate return of the precept, the debate which ensued brought forward to public notice for the first time one of the most accomplished orators and individuals whom we have beheld in our day. I mean Mr. William Windham. He had been chosen member for the city of Norwich at the late general election, notwithstanding his well-known predilection for Fox and his slender patrimonial property, which then scarcely exceeded £1200 a year. His person was graceful, elegant, and distinguished, slender, but not meagre. The lineaments of his countenance, though they displayed the ravages of the smallpox, were pleasing, and retained a character of animation blended with spirit and intelligence. Over his whole figure Nature had thrown an air of mind. His manners corresponded with his external appearance, and his conversation displayed the treasures of a highly cultivated understanding. Ardent in his love of civil liberty, for the preservation of which blessing, I believe, he would as cheerfully have shed his blood as did Hampden or Sidney, it was constitutional

freedom that he venerated, not a republican and impracticable emancipation from limited monarchical government. Strongly attached to Fox by private friendship as well as by political ties, he nevertheless quitted his leader when Fox persisted to justify and to panegyrise the sanguinary republic of France, in defiance of its enormities and excesses.

To Burke, Windham unquestionably bore some analogy, and on his shoulders may be said to have descended the mantle of Burke when he finally quitted the House of Commons. If Windham fell below him in general or in classic knowledge, he might be esteemed Burke's equal in the splendour and variety of his imagery, his command of language, and his wild but finely sustained flights into the regions of fancy. In suavity of disposition and control over himself, Windham was his superior; for, either from irritability of temper, intensity of feeling, strength of prejudices, or violence of party spirit, Burke frequently became unmanageable, and exhibited a spectacle distressing to his friends. There was in Windham's eloquence an eccentricity and originality of phrase peculiarly his own, picturesque but full of energy; as, for instance, when in 1809, after the battle of Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley having been raised by Ministers at once to the dignity of a Viscount, Windham observed upon it that "he disapproved of Sir Arthur's being thus elevated over a whole gradation of the peerage, because if he made two more such leaps the Red Book would not hold him." Windham's talents, brilliant and various as they were, always, however, appeared to me more adapted to speculative than to practical life; rather fitted for the university than for the Cabinet, better calculated to excite admiration in the House of Commons than formed by wise counsels and measures to sustain or to extricate an em-

barrassed empire. The ill-fated expedition under Sombreuil, sent to perish at Quiberon in 1795, and the unfortunate selection of General Whitelocke for the command of the troops against Buenos Ayres some years later, are both to be imputed, eminently if not exclusively, to Windham.[1] I am of opinion that if Burke had ever been admitted into the Cabinet, he would have displayed a similar want of judgment. Neither the one nor the other were statesmen, though they abounded in genius, learning, fancy, and prodigious powers of declamation.

Pitt replied on that evening, not to Fox, but to Sheridan, whose charges or recriminations, pointed with equal wit and severity, forced the Chancellor of the Exchequer to rise in his own defence. Windham gave great promise of future eminence. Fox, after exhausting every argument drawn from the statute law of England, from the immemorial practice of Parliament, and from general reason applicable to the case, apostrophised his adversary in the most animated terms. "I too well perceive," observed he, "that the Minister's object in sustaining the scrutiny is only to persecute an individual whom he honours by making him the victim of private resentment. I have always emulated to stand fair with him. It has been my pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little suspecting that he would so soon desert his principles, and become the agent of that very secret influence which he had so long and so successfully laboured to overturn. I was always prepared to find in him a formidable rival, who in the race of glory would leave me far behind; but I believed him incapable of descending to be my persecutor."

[1] This honest, brave, somewhat eccentric, but true-hearted Englishman died in 1810, then sixty years of age, of the consequences of an accident incurred by his exertions to save the library of the Hon. Mr. North from fire.—D.

"I protest," continued Fox, "when I heard that the brightest ornaments of England had fallen sacrifices to popular delusion, that Lord John Cavendish had lost his seat at York, that Mr. Coke and General Conway had been treated in a similar manner by their constituents, I regretted having been deprived of the distinction of suffering in such society. But it is obviously intended to weary out my friends by expense. A sum of £30,000 a year will be swallowed up on the two sides. My own last shilling may soon be got at, for I am poor. Yet in such a cause I will lay down my last shilling. If ultimately I lose my election, it will be for want of money, not from want of a legal majority of votes, while Westminster will be deprived of its franchise because I am unable to prosecute a pecuniary contest with the Treasury." These concluding words contained so strong a charge against Administration that they could not remain without reply. Pitt having already spoken at great length, Dundas therefore presented himself to the House. After treating as a matter of derision Fox's assertion that he had been selected by Ministers as an object of oppression, Dundas accused him with converting the electors of Westminster into instruments of systematic faction and sedition. Irritated at such an imputation, Fox declared it to be a direct falsehood; but his adversary, neither disconcerted nor betrayed into warmth, contented himself with firmly repeating his opinion.

About five o'clock in the morning a division took place on Lord Mulgrave's amendment to Ellis's motion, by which the high bailiff, though he was not precluded from making a return, yet received indirect encouragement to proceed in the scrutiny, accelerating as much as possible its progress. It now became evident how unpopular a measure the Minister had adopted, for, instead of the over-

whelming majorities which throughout the preceding session sustained him upon every question, he could only carry the amendment by thirty-nine, though above 300 members voted. Fox, no less than his friends, regarding such a division as a triumph, already prepared to renew the subject under another parliamentary form.

[10*th*—18*th February* 1785.] Colonel Fitzpatrick having presented a second petition from the electors of Westminster, requesting to be heard by counsel at the bar, as they had new facts to state, it was opposed by Lord Frederick Campbell. He was a son of the beautiful Miss Bellenden, maid of honour to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, and whose virtue resisted the seduction of George II. previous to his ascending the throne. Lord Frederick had already passed his fiftieth year, but he still retained all the graces that he had inherited from his mother. His figure united symmetry with elegance, and his manners, noble yet soft, dignified yet devoid of any pride or affectation, conciliated all who approached him. Devoid of shining talents, he nevertheless wanted not either ability or eloquence in a certain degree, both which were under the control of reason and of temper. He had sat in many Parliaments, and was attached to the crown, if not to the Government, by a lucrative place, the Lord Registrar of Scotland.

When about forty years of age, he married the Dowager Countess Ferrers, widow of the unfortunate Laurence Shirley, Earl Ferrers, who expiated by a public execution in 1760 the crime of having premeditatedly shot his steward. She had, however, been separated from him by Act of Parliament some years earlier, on account of his ill-treatment. Sir William Meredith, who made no inconsiderable

figure in Parliament, in office, and in public life during the first years of the present reign, was her brother. Miss Meredith, who, when young, possessed great personal attractions, walking with her sisters in the Mall in St. James's Park, was accosted by a woman who demanded charity, offering at the same time to tell her fortune. On being repulsed for her importunity by Miss Mary Meredith (of whom I am now speaking), the woman, irritated, said to her, "You think yourself yery pretty, but you are born to marry a man who will be hanged." Probably this story, like other similar predictions, was made subsequent to the fact which it pretended to foretell. That a very singular and sinister destiny attended her through life must, however, be admitted, when I add that she was burned to death in her bed at Lord Frederick's seat of Coomb Bank in Kent, together with the house itself. This melancholy event took place not more than eleven years ago, when she must have been about seventy. Her husband survived her near nine years, dying in 1816 at above fourscore, still elegant and distinguished even in decay.

[21*st. February* 1785.] The question before the House being "that counsel should be heard at the bar for the purpose of stating new facts," Lord Frederick moved an amendment to Fitzpatrick's motion calculated to restrain "the introduction of any extraneous or offensive matter." A long debate ensued, Government carrying the point by a majority of fifty-one ; 203 sustaining Administration, while only 145 supported Fox. The triumph was nevertheless dearly purchased, because it took place in contradiction to public opinion. During the course of the evening a proposition was made on the part of Sir Cecil Wray, tending, as he asserted, to accelerate the termination of the scrutiny, but Fox rejected it with

contempt. "I believe," said he, "Sir Cecil to be himself an honest gentleman, though the proposal now conveyed in his name is the result of unexampled impudence and effrontery." Erskine and Pigott being called in after the division as counsel, the former, in their joint names, informed the Speaker that "as they could not submit to the restraint imposed on them by the recent decision of the House, they requested permission to withdraw from the bar." The high bailiff having, however, been again examined, the discussion was renewed, Fitzpatrick moving that "he should be directed to make an immediate return of the members chosen for Westminster." Here Pitt may be said to have first found the limits of his parliamentary supremacy; for he could only negative the motion by nine, though above 280 members voted on the occasion. Such a majority was, in fact, defeat.

Among the individuals who generally supported him, but who spoke as well as voted against him on that night, was Mr. Bankes, one of the representatives for Corfe Castle, a borough of which he was known to possess the complete command and to return both the members. He has indeed continued so to do for near forty years; and at the hour when I am now writing, in April 1818, he, together with his son, sit in Parliament for the same place. Brought up with Pitt at Cambridge, nearly of the same age, and allied by the closest friendship, Bankes had received from the Chancellor of the Exchequer the most public as well as flattering proofs of predilection and confidence. To him, in December 1783, Pitt delegated his Ministerial functions within the walls of the House of Commons during the short but very critical period that elapsed between his acceptance of office and his re-election for Appleby. Nor did Bankes prove himself incapable of so im-

portant a trust. His talents compensated by their calm solidity for the want of brilliancy. His enunciation, slow, formal, precise, and not without some degree of embarrassment, was nevertheless always controlled by judgment, caution, and good sense. No man displayed more rectitude of intention, independence of mind, and superiority to every private object of interest or of ambition. These qualities formed, indeed, the impediments to his elevation; for whoever considers his ample patrimonial fortune, his intimacy with the Minister, and his parliamentary interest, cannot doubt that he must have attained to the peerage at an early period of his life, if he had not himself obstructed his own entrance into that assembly.

We have beheld a banker transformed into a British peer, and placed by Pitt, in 1797, on the bench of barons. But he exhibited a very different degree of personal and political devotion from Bankes, whose attachment to his friend was always restrained and regulated by high public principle. I remember that, on the division of the 9th of February, and again on the 21st, after the agitation of the scrutiny, Robert Smith was one of the tellers on the Ministerial side, while Bankes voted with Fox. Lord Mulgrave was on one if not on both occasions the other teller. Smith and Phipps reached the Upper House. Bankes still remains a commoner. Pitt did not possess enlargement or nobility of mind enough to forgive him for exercising his parliamentary independence when it came into collision with his own favourite measures. "Tout ou rien" was his maxim, and, like the goddess immortalised by Pope, he seemed on a day of debate to say to his followers—

> "Here strip, my children; here at once leap in,
> And try who best can dash through thick and thin!"

In making these observations, I am only impelled by truth; for, I believe, in the course of my whole life I never conversed during five minutes with Bankes, whose manners were altogether cold, repulsive, and destitute of amenity. He was not, indeed, the only member of the House whom a strong sense of justice and rectitude induced, though in contradiction to his ordinary line of conduct, to oppose by his voice as well as by his vote the continuance of the scrutiny. Martin, member for Tewkesbury, whose incorruptible integrity compensated for the mediocrity of his talents, followed Bankes's example. Such instances of defection eloquently spoke the general sense of the country on the treatment experienced by Fox.

[16*th*—24*th February* 1785.] The expenditure of the public money in Bengal was brought forward as matter of crimination against Ministers by Francis at this time. Pitt and Dundas defended the measures of the Board of Control, leaving to Major Scott the charge of repelling the charges preferred against Hastings for profusion, oppression, and maladministration of the revenues. In the progress of these investigations, Burke, availing himself of the ascendancy which his talents and eloquence conferred on him, endeavoured to silence his adversary by questioning him relative to the nature of his connection with the Governor-General. Scott, while he by no means denied that he acted as Hastings's agent—a quality of which, he said, he was proud—retorted on Burke, whom he accused of being himself virtually a Minister of the Rajah of Tanjore. "I know as a fact," added Scott, "that he waited in person on the late chairman of the Court of Directors, on behalf of the Rajah; and his near relative (William Burke) avowedly resides at this time as agent in the court of Tanjore." Thus attacked, Burke threw over himself, as he always did on similar occasions,

the shield of denial, accompanied with solemn declarations of his own purity, disinterestedness, and superiority to every pecuniary consideration. After protesting upon his honour that he was not the Rajah's agent, Burke subjoined, "True it is I have acted with similar feelings towards many individuals, but I never received any pecuniary compensation for my exertions. During a considerable number of years I was agent to the province of New York, and in that capacity I have negotiated with his Majesty's Ministers. I have stood up as the advocate and agent of the Nabob of Oude, of the Rajah of Benares, and of many other oppressed or plundered princes of Hindostan; but my sole remuneration lies in relieving the distressed and raising the unfortunate." Notwithstanding this affecting appeal to the passions, yet, as William Burke resided in the capacity of agent at the Rajah of Tanjore's durbar, transmitting to Edmund Burke intelligence on which the latter spoke and acted, it seems difficult not to consider him as having been connected by close ties with the Gentoo prince in question.

[28*th February* 1785.] The subjects agitated relative to Bengal and to Tanjore formed, nevertheless, only preludes to the more important inquiry into the private debts of Mahommed Ali, Nabob of Arcot. Fox and Francis opened the subject to the House with great ability, but the "Atlantean shoulders" of Burke principally sustained the ponderous mass, under the weight of which any other mind, memory, and energies than his must have been oppressed or overwhelmed. His speech, though of intolerable length, yet displayed a body of information respecting the finances of the Presidency of Madras, as connected with the Nabob of Arcot, which, I believe, no other individual in either House of Parliament ever possessed. Mahommed

Ali, one of the most able Asiatic princes who has reigned in our time, whose judgment, patience, and address supported him on the *musnud* during nearly half a century, maintained a perpetual conflict either with the insatiable avarice and rapacity, or against the more oppressive policy and tyranny of successive governors of Fort St. George. Having, in consequence of their exorbitant demands on his revenue, contracted a large debt before the year 1776, and being treated with severity bordering on insult by Lord Pigot, then governor of Madras, he determined on appealing from these delegated authorities to the fountain of political power. With that view, in hopes of obtaining redress either from the King or from the Administration, as early as the year 1777 he sent to England, in quality of his vacqueel or Minister, Mr. Macpherson, who has since exercised with so much integrity and ability the functions of Governor-General of India after Hastings's departure, for which services he was raised to the rank of a baronet. On his return to Calcutta, in the capacity of a supreme councillor, in 1781, the commission intrusted by the Nabob to him was transferred to his friend, Mr. James Macpherson, the compiler of Ossian's poems. In the month of August 1783, Mahommed Ali, not only without any solicitation on my part, but without my knowledge or consent, named me his Minister jointly with James Macpherson. The recent service which I had rendered to the Carnatic, and to the nation at large, by transmitting overland the first intelligence of the restoration of peace between England and France, which act had not been performed by Ministers, nor by the Directors of the East India Company, produced my appointment. That information arriving at Madras in June 1783, at a most critical period of time, the Nabob, in consequence of the representa-

tions made to him on the subject, conferred upon me the nomination.

In the autumn of 1784, when the newly constituted East India Board took into their consideration the affairs of the Presidency of Fort St. George, three distinct loans or debts existed in that settlement, all of which had been successively contracted by Mahommed Ali. The two first, denominated the Debt of 1767 and the Cavalry Loan, did not exceed, in the aggregate, the sum of £600,000; but the third, commonly called the Debt of 1777, amounted to £2,400,000 sterling. By its enemies the terms "exorbitant, usurious, and fraudulent" were applied to this loan on every occasion. Nevertheless, as several years had already elapsed since it had been incurred, as the shares or bonds forming its security had passed by sale into a variety of hands, and as the Nabob who contracted it not only admitted its validity, but had granted *tuncaws* or assignments of various portions of his territorial revenues to particular creditors for their payment, the India Commissioners, having maturely weighed these facts, sent out orders to acknowledge the three debts as valid engagements. They next proceeded to set apart certain portions of his Highness's revenues, by regular instalments, for their gradual liquidation within a fixed number of years. In the execution of these measures Pitt and Dundas were not only actuated, as I believe, by the purest motives, but I consider them to have adopted a wise, healing, enlarged, and laudable policy. The settlement would probably have been thrown into convulsions similar with those that took place under Lord Pigot in 1776 if orders had been transmitted from England declaring the Nabob's debts illegal and void. Fox, nevertheless, either preferring abstract principles of justice before any measures

of state convenience, or rather carried away by the declamations and violence of Burke, whose motives, elevated and upright as they might apparently be, were usually tinged in almost every act with human infirmity or enmity, Fox unquestionably viewed these claims through a different medium. His East India Bill had by one of its clauses or provisions declared them unlawful, null, and irrecoverable through any legal process from the Nabob. It was therefore natural for Fox, when they became subjects of parliamentary investigation, to protest against their validity and to reprobate the orders which had been transmitted to India providing for their eventual liquidation.

His speech on the occasion—for it was Fox who began the discussion—though criminating the new East India Board and arraigning their late determination in severe terms, yet abstained from any personal imputation on their motives. But Francis, who seconded Fox's motion for the production of papers elucidatory of the inquiry, by no means restrained himself within similar limits. Addressing the first Minister and the Treasurer of the Navy individually, he admonished them that "their characters were deeply committed, as rumour loudly asserted that a collusion existed between the Board of Control and the creditors of the Nabob." Dundas immediately rose, and in the progress of a very masterly but concise speech explained with admirable perspicuity the nature of the three classes of debt under examination, justifying at the same time the measures embraced for their gradual extinction. After thus vindicating the general policy and utility of the orders sent out to Madras, with that good-humour which always characterised him, accompanied by manliness of mind, he adverted to Francis's accusation. "It is not the first time," observed

Dundas, "that my conduct has been misrepresented. With similar truth it has been asserted that I received from an honourable baronet a very large sum of money on a particular occasion. The fact is just as true as the pretended collusion of this day. But as I slept perfectly serene under the former imputation, so, I trust, my temper will remain equally unruffled at the present moment." Sir Thomas Rumbold, to whom he alluded, was not only in the House at the time, but took a part in the debate, and even spoke in favour of Fox's motion. It was therefore impossible that Dundas could seize an occasion more favourable for refuting the calumnious reports circulated respecting him than the opportunity of which he availed himself.

When he sat down, the discussion being apparently terminated, the House appeared ready to divide, but Burke, rising with evident marks of strong emotion, delivered an oration which lasted nearly five hours, and which neither Demosthenes nor Tully could have exceeded in energy, eloquence, or animation. I speak with perfect impartiality, as I by no means coincided in opinion with Burke, whose prejudices and animosities almost always blinded his judgment or obscured his superior intelligence. But even when he most failed in producing conviction he excited not less admiration of his resplendent talents. It would be a vain attempt to convey any adequate idea of the mass of knowledge which he displayed or submitted on that evening to his audience. Every species of information relative to the subject that unwearied labour combined with ability could collect, he furnished with a lavish hand. Against the Debt of 1777, as originating in bribery and usury, he principally exhausted his invectives. Against Paul Benfield, who had been a member of the late House

of Commons, and who was supposed to own a very considerable proportion of that loan, Burke levelled such abuse as no person in my time (not excepting Hastings, or Rumbold, or Sykes, or Middleton, or Rodney, or Lord Shelburne) ever attracted within the walls of either House of Parliament. From base and venal subservience to Benfield, and his agent or representative in that assembly, Mr. Richard Atkinson, Burke charged both Pitt and Dundas with systematically sacrificing their own honour, the interests of the state, and the revenues of the Carnatic. "This," exclaimed he, in his beautiful and allegorical language, which borrowed its allusions by turns from every source, sacred or classic, as they suited his purpose—"This was the golden cup of abominations! This was the enchanted chalice of the fornications of usury and rapine which was tendered to Ministers by the gorgeous Eastern harlot! A chalice which so many of the nobles, no less than the people of this devoted land, have drained to the very dregs! But do Ministers suppose that no reckoning is to follow this lewd debauch? that no punishment will be demanded for such national prostitution? You have the act palpably represented before your eyes. Atkinson, who kept in this capital a public office, where the whole business of the late general election was managed, is Benfield's agent. The principal of the grand election-monger must of course be indemnified for his exertions. The claims of Benfield and his crew must be exempted from all inquiry."

After thus exhausting his rage on Benfield and Atkinson, he descended to arithmetical details, proving the share which the former of those individuals was asserted to possess in the debt of 1777. "My best information," continued Burke,

"places it at £400,000. This sum, increased by the scheme of the present Ministers nearly one-third in magnitude, and bearing interest at six per cent., gives to Benfield an annuity of £35,000 a year, charged on the revenues of the Carnatic." Having next attempted by other calculations founded on the usurious advantages which Benfield might derive to swell his income to the enormous sum of nearly £150,000 per annum, Burke exclaimed, "Behold here a specimen of the new and immaculate aristocracy created by our mirror of financial Ministers! This is to constitute the support of the crown and constitution against the ancient natural interests of Great Britain, the grand counterpoise against odious coalitions! A single Benfield outweighs them all! A criminal who ought long since to have fattened with his offal the region kites is by the Board of East India Control virtually invested with the administration of a great kingdom, and put in possession of an estate effacing the splendour of all the nobility throughout Europe!"—"If this chain of circumstances does not lead the House necessarily to infer that the Minister has paid to Benfield's avarice the services rendered to his ambition by Benfield's connections, I know not anything short of the confession of one of the two parties which can persuade you of his guilt. But I believe, after such an exposure of facts, no man can entertain a doubt of the corrupt collusion of Ministers with the interest of the delinquents in India."

Burke, no doubt, supposed that charges and imputations of such deep atrocity must instantly call up Pitt or Dundas. But so absurd as well as unfounded did the accusations appear, and with such ridicule or incredulity did the House consider the asserted duplicity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the East India Board with Benfield, merely

in order to secure for the latter an ill-acquired fortune, that the Treasury bench remained silent. Burke's violence recoiling on himself, a loud cry of question arose from every part of the assembly. Not a word was uttered in reply, Pitt disdaining to refute allegations which his character sufficiently repelled. Even the numbers on the division attested how little conviction followed Burke's declamation, whatever wonder or respect might be excited by his eloquence. The Opposition could only command sixty-nine votes, while Administration was followed by 164. It was not thus that Pitt divided on the question of the Westminster scrutiny. There he found his power and his ability unable to prolong the contest, or even to secure a majority. But Burke in 1785, however sublime were his endowments, had, by his intemperate abuse of them, sunk greatly in general estimation.

Paul Benfield, who at more than one period of the reign of George III. acted a most conspicuous part on the great theatre of public life and of Parliament, was born at Cheltenham in or about the year 1740, where his father exercised the trade of a land-surveyor. He had received little aid from education, but having been sent out to Fort St. George at an early time of life in the capacity of an assistant engineer, he soon distinguished himself there by executing some public works, which, while they acquired him professional reputation, laid the foundation of his prodigious fortune. He was subsequently transferred from the military to the civil service of the East India Company, and he then commenced his pecuniary transactions with the Nabob of Arcot. His extensive connections among the native bankers or soucars enabling him to command their assistance, he made great advances of money to Mahommed Ali, for which he unquestion-

ably received a very high interest. The expedition undertaken by the Madras Government for the reduction of Tanjore in 1773 requiring on the part of the Nabob ample pecuniary resources, Benfield principally supplied the necessary funds. But, as his Highness's bonds were already fallen into discredit, and had sunk to nearly half their value, that prince found himself necessitated to make over to Benfield, by way of security, the crops or productions of certain districts in the Carnatic or in the kingdom of Tanjore.

Thus far Mr. Benfield seemed to advance under favourable auspices, but with the arrival of Lord Pigot in 1776 as governor of Madras his prospects became overclouded. That nobleman, who condemned the expedition against Tanjore, and who suspected Benfield of secretly abetting the party which opposed his measures, not only seized on the territorial assignments made over to him by the Nabob, but suspended him from the Company's service. After Lord Pigot's imprisonment and decease, which speedily followed, Benfield still remaining deprived of his rank, determined to revisit Europe. This resolution he executed, arriving in London about the beginning of autumn 1779. Lord North was then deeply plunged into the gulf of the American war, while France and Spain occupied the British Channel with their combined fleets. The King and the First Lord of the Treasury had become equally unpopular. Parliament drew towards its sixth session, and the Opposition anticipated the fall of Administration with a sort of certainty. Under these circumstances of Ministerial and national depression, Benfield, who had brought with him a very considerable sum of money, which he destined for purposes of personal ambition, easily found means to offer his services to the Government.

His first object being to obtain or to create a parliamentary interest, he made such purchases at Cricklade in Wiltshire as gave him a considerable influence in that borough, for which he was returned one of the two members when the new House of Commons met in October 1780. With a view to render him odious, as well as to throw discredit on a Ministry reduced to accept such assistance, the Opposition loudly asserted that he brought seven individuals into the House. Burke increased the number to eight. In the course of his eloquent but most intemperate speech of the 28th of February he exclaimed, "Paul Benfield did not disdain —such was his affection for the rotten constitution of England—to become a wholesale upholsterer for this assembly. He made no fewer than eight members (reckoning himself) in the last Parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have infused into the veins of the present!" This assertion was, nevertheless, altogether exaggerated, as I know that he only brought in two friends in 1780 besides himself. After the dissolution of 1784, he neither obtained a seat, Cricklade having been disfranchised during the short existence of the Rockingham Administration, nor possessed the means of introducing any person into that assembly. Atkinson, though he might be considered as Benfield's agent, did not owe to Benfield his election, nor acted by his impulse in a parliamentary capacity.

Early in 1781, Mr. Benfield, who had antecedently been restored to his rank in the Company's civil service by the exertions of Government in Leadenhall Street, returned overland to Madras. Lord Macartney being nominated to the government of that settlement, embarked at the same time for the coast of Coromandel, and as Benfield had

been able to render him some pecuniary services which greatly facilitated his departure, it was natural to suppose that they might have continued on terms of friendship. But Benfield's temper, disposition, and character, exacting, dissatisfied, and ambitious, could not easily be made to harmonise with Lord Macartney, who, though a man of unimpeached integrity, of elevated views, and always attentive to the great public interests committed to his care, yet wanted amenity of manners, ductility, and powers of conciliation. A rupture took place between them, and Lord Macartney, probably dreading the fate which had befallen his predecessor Lord Pigot, who was arrested and confined by some of the members of his own council, determined as a measure of precaution to remove Benfield from the seat of government. For that purpose an order was sent him to repair to Permacoil, a fortified rock not far removed from Madras, a detachment of the Company's troops being there stationed, of which garrison Benfield was constituted paymaster. He soon afterwards, however, obtained permission to retire to Pondicherry, and on Lord Macartney's resignation of his office in 1785, Benfield, against whom no charge whatever had been preferred, was by orders sent out from England allowed to return to Fort St. George. There he remained during two or three years occupied in realising his large fortune, which, by the regulations adopted respecting the Nabob of Arcot's debts, was placed in a secure train of eventual liquidation. Finding, nevertheless, that the prejudices entertained respecting him precluded his elevation to any of those situations of high trust or dignity in the Company's service to which he aspired, he resolved finally to leave India. On his second return to England in 1790, he either brought home with him or left behind him at Ma-

dras, secured in the debt of 1777, a sum not falling short of Burke's calculation, I mean £400,000.

It might have been expected that Burke, who had attacked him with so much virulence only five years earlier, would have renewed the charges against him on his reappearance in this country, especially when Benfield again took his seat in Parliament by the assistance of the Treasury as member for Malmesbury. But Burke was not only then engaged in the prosecution of Hastings, the French Revolution, which had taken place, occupied his whole mind, while it offered a more noble, as well as ample subject for the exercise of his faculties. He likewise probably anticipated the separation which finally happened between himself and Fox, as almost inevitably resulting from the different estimates formed by them respecting that event. Benfield, therefore, in order to repair his loss at Cricklade, purchased another borough, Shaftesbury; and had he possessed the moderation as well as the patience necessary for consolidating a great fortune, he might probably (like so many other individuals returned from the East, whom it would be invidious to particularise) have gradually attained to honours if not to employments. But the restlessness of his character, and the insatiable desire of augmenting his vast wealth, impelled him, instead of waiting the slow operation of time and events, to embark anew on the sea of mercantile adventure. Having formed a commercial connection with a gentleman named Boyd, who previous to the French Revolution was established at Paris, but who had been driven from that capital by the convulsions that followed it, Benfield and his new partner opened in London a species of banking-house. During the period between 1793 and 1796, when Pitt was necessitated to borrow annually large sums in order to maintain

the war against France, Benfield and Boyd became the principal contractors for those loans, by which they were known to have realised great profits. The money market lay indeed in some degree under their control, and they were considered as its dictators.

Meanwhile Benfield, after purchasing Sir Thomas Rumbold's fine seat of Wood Hall in the county of Hertford, and the splendid mansion belonging to the Earl of Thanet in Grosvenor Square, bought likewise an estate producing nominally nearly £30,000 a year, situate in Demerara or Essequibo, on the continent of South America. But at the moment when he seemed to be placed on such a stupendous elevation, or, as Burke denominated him, to have become "the minion of the human race," he touched upon his fall. Benfield and Boyd having made large purchases in the public funds at the time of Lord Malmesbury's mission to Lisle, in the sanguine anticipation of his success, and that negotiation for peace totally failing, the depression of the stocks occasioned by it shook their credit to its foundations. In this emergency sixteen capitalists of the City of London came forward voluntarily with a loan of £5000 each in order to support the house. But the sum of £80,000 was found wholly inadequate to their wants. Bankruptcy ensued, followed by an extent issued on the part of the crown against their effects. Benfield immediately withdrew to France, in the public funds or securities of which country he had invested considerable sums previous to the war. At Paris he resided during several years, dragging on a miserable existence, unable with safety to revisit England, destitute of pecuniary resources, and literally wanting all the comforts of life. In that state of dereliction he there expired, his funeral expenses being defrayed by a subscription

of the English residents in the French metropolis. Such was the singular destiny experienced by a man, who, whatever obloquy or censure might attach to the mode in which he acquired his fortune, could only have lost it by consummate imprudence and avidity. His history and his end remind us of Law in the annals of France under the regency of the Duke of Orleans during the last century. Like Benfield, Law closed his life in obscurity, if not in poverty, at Venice, after having performed so distinguished a part on the theatre of Europe. I return to the course of public affairs.

[*3d March* 1785.] The division which took place in the House of Commons on the 21st of February, when Ministers were only able to carry the continuation of the scrutiny by so small a majority as nine, naturally induced Fox without delay to agitate anew that question. Sawbridge having moved that "an immediate return should be made to the precept," Pitt, not venturing again directly to negative it, proposed that "the House do immediately adjourn." But even this indirect mode of defeating the proposition he was unable to induce the House to adopt. Fox having carried the question upon immediate adjournment against the Administration by a majority of thirty-eight, Pitt did not think proper to repeat his own disgrace, or to hazard a second division. I say disgrace, because, however I may have voted in 1785, I now consider the whole business of the Westminster scrutiny as one of the strongest acts of Ministerial oppression and persecution which I have witnessed in my time. It demanded indeed all Pitt's popularity, supported by the influence of Government, and aided by the recent recollections of Fox's India Bill, to surmount the disadvantageous impressions excited in the public mind by the scrutiny. Fox, elated at his triumph,

instantly moved "to expunge from the journals of the House all the former proceedings on the subject." He desisted nevertheless from pushing the motion to a division on that evening, and a future day was named for the purpose. But Corbett, the high bailiff, did not delay more than twenty-four hours in making a return of Lord Hood and Fox as members for Westminster. It would have been more honourable to Pitt's character, as well as to the councils of the crown, if this tardy and reluctant act of justice had been earlier performed; but the hope of expelling the Opposition leader from a seat so painfully eminent, overruled every sentiment of liberality, and even of policy, in the bosoms of Ministers.

[*9th March* 1785.] The debate which arose on the adjourned question of "expunging from the journals all the past proceedings" was carried on in a very full house, and terminated at a late hour. Kenyon and Arden distinguished themselves by their defence of Administration. Nor did Fox want the aid of the bar to sustain his cause. Scott, who at the hour when I am writing holds the great seal of England,[1] spoke with admirable force against the scrutiny, which he denominated illegal as well as repugnant to justice and to reason. Contrary to their invariable practice when addressing the House, while Fox compressed his matter, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was diffuse and laboured, so much did the nature of the subject influence their style of oratory! If reason and equity had alone decided the question, Fox must have carried it. Indeed, so sensible were the defenders of the measure that it needed adventitious support and could not stand on its own proper merits, as to induce them to call on all those individuals who had originally voted for the scrutiny to maintain their own consistency by

[1] As Lord Eldon.—ED.

continuing their sanction to its principle. "The object of the motion before us," exclaimed the Attorney-General (Arden), "is to make gentlemen confess their ignorance or their corruption. And if we concur in it, we ought all to appear next week in Westminster Abbey in white sheets, there to do penance for our past transgressions."[1] Pitt, conscious, no doubt, how weak was the ground on which he stood, condescended to address his discourse more to the passions than to the reason and principles of his audience. He reminded them of the contemptuous terms which Fox had used towards those who at the commencement of the session crowded the House—"men with whose faces nobody was acquainted." And he earnestly adjured them "not to confide in those professions of respect, those meretricious blandishments which the success of one day had inspired, to lure them into a dereliction of principle, a violation of law, and an unmerited self-condemnation."

Fox, thus personally assailed, not only denied the charge, but added that "it was false, unwarranted, and solely calculated for the purpose of rounding the Minister's periods, with a view of captivating the assembly." A personal altercation ensued, which was terminated by the Speaker,[2] who, taking part against Pitt, as the rules of debate compelled him to do, observed that "no member possessed a right of stating words spoken in the course of a former discussion, unless they had been taken down at the time by the clerk at the table." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, though pronounced disorderly from the authority of the chair, yet maintained his original

[1] In the "Probationary Odes" (Rolliad) there is a supposed testimony from George Hardinge in favour of Pepper Arden, which is said to refer to "the learned gentleman's arithmetical speech on the Westminster Scrutiny."—ED.

[2] Cornewall.—ED.

assertion, as Fox did his denial, and the division taking place soon afterwards, the Opposition could only number 137 votes, while Administration counted 242. The victory was undoubtedly great, as, if Ministers had been left in a minority upon such a question, which impugned the legality of their whole proceedings throughout the Westminster election, they must have sustained a proportionate loss of reputation. But the triumph did not extend beyond the threshold of the lobby, public opinion being decidedly adverse to the principle of the scrutiny. I constituted one of the Ministerial majority on that night, a circumstance which does not, however, in the least alter my sentiments respecting the measure itself when viewed dispassionately through the medium of time. Only 286 members had been present when the continuation of the scrutiny was negatived, but 379 attended on the present occasion, when the decision involved, if not the duration, at least the character of the Government. Satisfied with putting an end to the scrutiny, and admitting Fox to take his seat in the House as member for Westminster, many of the individuals who supported him on the 3d of March voted with Ministers on the 9th. They wished to control and to restrain, but had no desire to overturn the Administration.

The revolution of a year was now nearly complete since Pitt had attained to the summit of power, though he had not yet accomplished the twenty-sixth year of his age. Nor, if we except the measure of the Westminster scrutiny, which was unquestionably marked with the stamp of persecution, had he in any respect incurred public censure or disappointed public expectation. His youth, which had afforded to his enemies such ample matter of reproach, far from injuring him in general estimation, rather operated to throw a peculiar grace round his Ad-

ministration. In vain did his opponents enlist wit, poetry, and satire in their service. Yet we must admit that the portrait drawn of him in the "Rolliad" is not destitute of resemblance. No man who has seen him in the House of Commons during the early stages of his Ministerial greatness, when about to mix in the discussion, can fail to recognise Pitt, though the likeness partakes of caricature, and is tinctured with the enmity of party. I allude to those couplets beginning—

> "Pert without fire, without experience sage;
> Young, with more art than Shelburne gleaned from age;
> Too proud from pilfered greatness to descend,
> Too humble not to call Dundas his friend;
> In solemn dignity and sullen state,
> This new Octavius rises to debate!"

I never peruse the two concluding lines without having Pitt before my eyes.[1] They were peculiarly appropriate in 1784 and 1785, while he might still be considered in the infancy of his political power. When he became confirmed in office, he dropped much of the sullenness of his manner, substituting more dignity in its place. Those persons who have not beheld Pitt before the French Revolution—for that awful convulsion, proceeding with gigantic strides, and threatening universal subversion as it advanced, brought him down gradually nearer to the level of mankind—cannot easily figure to themselves the species of elevation that characterised his deportment. He stood indeed alone, as his father, though only Secretary of State, had done in the two concluding years of George II. Neither Addington nor Perceval ever stood alone. They were, it is true, invested with the same employments as Pitt,

[1] Ellis, one of the chief authors of the "Rolliad," at a subsequent period met Pitt at Eden Farm, Lord Auckland's seat, and the two are said to have been mutually delighted with each other.—ED.

but they never occupied his place, either among their colleagues in the Cabinet or with the nation. Yet Perceval was the younger son of an Irish Earl, a baron of England, whose illustrious descent might claim the respect derived from remote ancestry. Like Pitt, too, he had been bred to the bar, and possessed very eminent parts. But he wanted the name and the recollections which attached to the great Earl of Chatham's son. Nor did Perceval, after sustaining a siege of many weeks in the House of Commons against Fox, then master of a majority within those walls, finish by liberating the crown from thraldom and reducing his opponents to a sort of political annihilation. These were Pitt's resplendent merits, both personal and hereditary, which placed him on an eminence that no other subject has occupied in my time.

Among the individuals who in 1785 enjoyed Pitt's private friendship and confidence, Dundas held the first rank. Thurlow, however great were his endowments, was too intractable, retained too many opinions, principles, or prejudices, and sometimes burst through all Ministerial fetters or obligations with too much violence, to be cherished (as the "Rolliad" says Pretyman was) in Pitt's præcordia. He could have easily replaced Lord Sydney with a far more able Secretary of State. Nor were Lord Carmarthen's talents by any means brilliant, and he possessed too independent a mind for a man who aspired to the cordial friendship of the young Minister. The Marquis had indeed been originally brought forward, not by Pitt, but by Lord Shelburne, who named him ambassador to the Court of Versailles early in 1783, soon after the signature of the preliminaries of peace, though the change in Administration which speedily followed it prevented the accomplishment of his mission. Dundas brought to





market qualities rarely combined in the same individual. Conviviality at table, manners frank, open, and inspiring confidence; eloquence bold, flowing, energetic, and always at command; principles accommodating, pliant, suited to every variation in Government, and unencumbered with modesty or fastidious delicacy. He could not only vote, but speak in support of measures against which he had declaimed and divided in the preceding session. Ambition guided by judgment enabled him to perceive that Pitt could, of all men, most surely and speedily open to him the doors of the Cabinet and of the House of Peers. To those situations he steadily looked, and for their attainment he considered no sacrifice to be too great. In the hours of private conversation, moistened and exhilarated by wine, when the Minister gladly unbent his mind, Dundas won his way and obtained a pre-eminence in his regard. It only terminated with their joint lives, and the Minister's last moments were unquestionably accelerated as well as embittered by the impeachment of his friend, followed by its necessary consequences, his loss of office, together with his seat in the Cabinet.

To Mr. William Grenville I may assign the second place in Pitt's favour and friendship at this period of his political career. The ties of consanguinity cemented every other motive derived from mental endowments. Nature had bestowed on him no exterior advantages. His person was heavy, and devoid of elegance or grace, his address cold and formal, his manners destitute of suavity. Even his eloquence partook of these defects. In debate he wanted Pitt's copious pomp of words, his facility and majesty of expression. The two cousins were equally distinguished by correct moral deportment, and the authors of the "Rolliad," who wanted neither

malevolence nor wit in exposing the defects of those whom they selected for attack, were reduced to the necessity of levelling their shafts, not against Mr. Grenville's intellectual, but at his ponderous physical formation. Even Sheridan, whose humour, however elegant and classic, was always dramatic, and who borrowed occasionally from Aristophanes or from Lucian, as well as from Congreve and Foote, condescended sometimes in debate to use the same weapon. Jenkinson stood third on Pitt's list of confidential adherents, though necessity and policy had unquestionably a greater share in the selection than inclination. Neither consanguinity nor conviviality produced the union between them, but circumstances scarcely less powerful in their operation attracted them towards each other. Jenkinson, though not eloquent, possessed a species of knowledge without which Pitt could not advance a step in matters relating to trade, navigation, manufactures, and all the productions of human industry or labour submitted to taxation. He was the Mentor and the Palinurus whenever those subjects came before the House. But he likewise was supposed still to retain an influence behind the curtain. The shadowy, undefined nature of that problematical power, which could only be matter of belief or of assertion, and which was supposed to have become far less formidable since Pitt's nomination to the offices which he held, did not the less secure to Jenkinson universal consideration. Lord Camden, already far advanced in life, though he enjoyed a distinguished rank among Pitt's friends and supporters, was rather an object of his veneration than associated to his labours or his pleasures. To the Duke of Richmond I should allot the fourth situation among the group who surrounded the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He exhibited at this very time the strongest proof of his attachment to that

nobleman, and his high opinion of the Duke's military talents, by not only defending his character, but by supporting his plans for fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth when they were discussed in Parliament with much severity. The Duke had previously been made a member of the Cabinet.

Beyond these four or five favoured individuals stood another phalanx drawn up in a triple line. Those who composed the first row were selected for high birth, at whose head was beheld conspicuously the Marquis of Graham, and near him, on the Treasury bench,

"The dark brow of solemn Hamilton"

attracted attention. Nor must we omit Mr. John Villiers, second son of the Earl of Clarendon, the "Nireus" of Pitt's forces, "comely with the flaxen hair."

Within five years subsequent to this time the Minister, after conferring on him other temporary offices about the court, gave him a permanent and lucrative sinecure, by making him Chief-Justice in Eyre north of Trent. Parliamentary talents were demanded as a qualification for the second row, and among them Wilberforce might claim pre-eminence. The qualities of his mind and understanding lay beneath the surface, for his countenance gave no indication of superior intellect. His person was mean, and his features were altogether destitute either of fine expression or of dignity. But he spoke with great perspicuity, as well as fluency, on every subject; and he spoke from an eminence, representing, as he did, the county of York. Attached to Pitt both from principle and from habits of intimacy, he nevertheless preserved all the integrity, rectitude, and independence of character which could meet in a member of Parliament, sustained by

the most correct morals. Pepper Arden and Lord Mulgrave occupied the front rank in this division of the Ministerial troops. Behind were seen various individuals, who have filled in our time, and who still continue to fill, the highest offices in the state. I allude particularly to the names of Addington, Dudley Ryder,[1] the Earl of Mornington,[2] and Lord Apsley,[3] all of whom, though they had not yet risen to speak in the House, were candidates for future employment. The third and last line demanded neither birth nor talents: obedience, regular attendance, and unlimited devotion sufficed. They constituted a numerous body, the

"Alcandrumque, Haliumque, Noëmonaque, Prytanimque,"

of the House of Commons in 1785. I will not enumerate them. Robert Smith, eventually promoted, first to the barons' bench in Ireland, and afterwards to the same rank of the peerage in England by Pitt's friendship or gratitude, was justly esteemed, if not their leader, at least their example.

[14*th March* 1785.] Among the most unpopular members of Administration might be accounted the Duke of Richmond. His enemies accused him of domestic parsimony, contrasted with profusion of the public money as Master-General of the Ordnance. His kitchen was said to be the coolest apartment in his house, both at Goodwood and in Privy Garden. Thus the "Rolliad," apostrophising him, exclaims—

"Whether thou go'st, while summer suns prevail,
T' enjoy the freshness of thy kitchen's gale,
Where, unpolluted by luxurious heat,
Its large expanse affords a cool retreat."

[1] Afterwards Earl of Harrowby.—ED.
[2] Afterwards Marquis Wellesley.—ED.
[3] Afterwards Earl Bathurst.—ED.

Nor did his present loyalty and attachment to the sovereign, against whom he had declaimed in a manner very personal during the progress of the American war, afford less matter for ludicrous animadversion. But, more than either, his passion for fortifications and the works by which he projected to defend our great naval arsenals against invasion excited the vigilant attention of Parliament. The subject was discussed with much asperity when the Ordnance estimates came under consideration—James Luttrell, surveyor-general of that branch of the military department, youngest of the four sons of Lord Carhampton, opening the business. During the contest between Great Britain and her Colonies, while commanding the "Mediator," a forty-four gun frigate, Luttrell had distinguished himself both by the pen and by the sword. Nevertheless, his encomiums on the Duke of Richmond's plans did not produce conviction in the minds of his audience. Macbride, one of the two representatives for Plymouth, and a captain of the royal navy, to whom had been intrusted in 1772 the commission of bringing off on board his ship the Queen Matilda of Denmark, then detained a prisoner in the castle of Cronsberg—this officer, a man of blunt manners and of rude eloquence, but possessing strong sense and an accurate local knowledge of the tract of ground in the vicinity of Plymouth which it was proposed to fortify, contradicted the principal facts alleged by Luttrell. Courtenay, who never omitted to avail himself of the aid of wit as an auxiliary to reason and argument, assailed the Duke of Richmond's projected fortifications with all the force of ridicule. Having observed how unfortunately it happened for his country that his grace's passion for engineering should have manifested itself at so advanced a period of life, Courtenay then called on Barré

to declare whether the engineers convened by the Master-General of the Ordnance to meet at the Tower for the purpose of discussing his estimates had or had not given them any sanction? "Has Colonel Debbeige in particular," added he, "an officer so universally esteemed for probity and science, been called on to state his opinion respecting these fortifications?"

Barré, who was not unprepared for this appeal, probably indeed acting in concert with Courtenay and with the Marquis of Lansdowne, instantly presented himself to the Speaker's notice. His aspect, his reputation as a member of the House, but, more than either, his personal infirmities, attracted great attention. Long menaced with a privation of sight, Barré was now become totally blind, a circumstance to which he pathetically alluded when he observed, with an exclamation of deep concern, that "to his memory alone he could henceforward recur for assistance in stating or recalling facts." With even more personal acrimony than Courtenay or than Macbride had exhibited, he attacked the Master-General himself, rather than his plans. After drawing an invidious comparison between the noblemen who had preceded the Duke of Richmond in that great office during several years, from Earl Ligonier down to Lord Townshend, "all of whom," he said, "were men of tried bravery, military knowledge, and experience," he asked, "Can the present Master-General state himself to have commanded armies like his predecessors in that employment, and conducted them to victory? It is demanded of me," concluded he, "whether I know Colonel Debbeige. I know him well—know his honesty and worth. I am concerned to add that I know him to be oppressed." The officer in question, who was one of the six colonel-commandants of the corps of en-

gineers, and whose reputation for professional ability stood high, having disapproved the Duke's plans, had incurred his displeasure. And, as placability was not commonly supposed to constitute a prominent feature of his grace's character, it might be feared that the Colonel by this conduct had sacrificed his fortune to his principles. The "Rolliad," adverting to these well-known facts, thus apostrophises him—

> "Learn, thoughtless Debbeige, now no more a youth,
> The woes unnumbered that encompass truth!"
>
> "Oh! learn on happier terms with him to live,
> Who ne'er knew *twice* the weakness to forgive!"

General Burgoyne having expressed a similar condemnation of the Duke's projects, while not a word in their justification or support was uttered from any part of the House, Dundas himself remaining silent, Pitt felt it indispensable to concede, for the present, to the weight of public opinion. Aware that he might be left in a minority if he persisted in urging the question to a division on that night, the Minister consented to allow the sum already granted (which amounted to £50,000, destined for the fortifications) to remain untouched till Parliament should have come to an ultimate decision on the subject. But having thus given way respecting the principal point, he stood forward to rescue his friend from the imputations thrown on his military skill. After reverting to Barré's queries touching the Master-General's personal services in the field, "Yes," answered the Minister, "I will boldly assert that my noble friend possesses practical experience though he never has commanded an army nor led on troops to victory. I am happy to declare that he is a member of the Cabinet. To my good fortune in being closely connected with a nobleman of his active virtue, of his recognised

ability and experience in his department, but, above all, of his systematic economy in every matter that regards the public interest, I attribute much of the national favour which has hitherto accompanied and honoured my Administration." Relative to Debbeige Pitt wisely observed a total silence. His whole panegyric on the Duke seemed to be peculiarly levelled, not so much at Macbride, at Courtenay, or at Burgoyne, as against Barré, and through him unquestionably at the Marquis of Lansdowne, from which quarter he probably suspected that the attack principally originated. The fortifications, arrested in their progress, remained thus suspended till the ensuing session.

[16*th March*—11*th April* 1785.] In consequence of the long duration of the American war, terminated by the emancipation of the thirteen colonies, many new and unexpected circumstances had arisen, commercial as well as political, which demanded from Ministers mature deliberation or enlightened and patient consideration. Among these none appeared to claim more prompt attention than the state of the convicts sentenced to the punishment of transportation, who, from the inability of conveying them across the Atlantic to their ancient destinations, had accumulated in the jails of the kingdom to the number of several thousands. The Cabinet seemed irresolute in deciding to what quarter of the globe they should be sent, and an island in the river Gambia, on the western coast of Africa, was at length selected for the purpose. Burke, whose active philanthropy, stimulated by enmity towards Ministers, rendered him vigilant to discover abuses and eager to expose them, rising in his place, demanded "what was to be done to those unhappy wretches sentenced by the law to undergo transportation? I trust," continued he, "Gambia

is not the place intended for their reception, a country of which it may be truly asserted, that there 'all life dies and all death lives.' The gates of hell are there open night and day to receive the victims sent from hence. It may be denominated the capital seat of pestilence, plague, and famine. But deprivation of life was not in the contemplation of the judges who passed sentence on them. This fact loudly calls for the attention of the Legislature." Not discouraged by the inefficacy of his first appeal to the House, he renewed the application soon after the termination of the Easter recess. Pitt endeavouring to elude his inquiries and having treated him with some severity of animadversion for introducing a subject foreign to the business of the day, Burke, unintimidated by the interference of the Speaker, who endeavoured to silence him as disorderly, retorted on the Minister with extraordinary force of language.

"Seventy-five of these unfortunate men," exclaimed he, "I understand, are now on board a vessel in the Thames, which may sail before to-morrow's dawn. The wind will speedily carry them beyond the interference of Parliament. I call upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His Majesty, by his coronation oath, has sworn to execute judgment in mercy. He is the trustee of that solemn royal pledge. The jails are crowded far beyond all former precedent. There is a house in London which contains at this time precisely 558. I do not mean the House of Commons, though the numbers are alike in both, but the jail of Newgate. Contagious distempers may ensue, and on every view of the subject I again invoke the interposition of Parliament!" This eloquent and pathetic appeal, though it failed to produce an immediate effect, and was not followed up by any specific motion, yet did not the

less operate to redress the evil. The Cabinet, compelled to abandon the pestilential banks of the Gambia, in the course of the subsequent year made choice of a portion of the earth better calculated for every object of policy and punishment, without losing sight of humanity. I allude to the settlement of Botany Bay, situate in another hemisphere, in a happy latitude, on the eastern coast of New Holland. There, probably, in the course of two or three centuries, may arise along the shores of the Pacific and Indian Oceans a vast empire, and a civilised yet martial people, who, after subjecting the immense archipelago scattered by nature at the extremity of Asia, from New Guinea quite to Japan, will perhaps contest for the naval supremacy of the Pacific itself with their countrymen established on the western shores of America. Such are the modes by which Providence diffuses moral as well as religious light over the dark and savage portions of the planet, transferring knowledge, civilisation, liberty, and science successively from one extremity of the earth to the other in the lapse of revolving ages. Who can say that before the year 2500 from Christ, Europe, and peculiarly the western nations of this favoured quarter of the globe, now so illuminated, may not sink into the condition of Egypt, of the lesser Asia, and of Greece,—countries to which we fondly turn our eyes as the cradles of art, of poetry, and of history! May not England fall to the level of that spot which has been so beautifully denominated—

"Land of lost gods and godlike men!"

while Van Diemen's Land or California (in whose vicinity Swift, hardly more than a century ago, placed his Lilliput and his Brobdignag, as if out of the reach of geographical pursuit) may enjoy freedom, arts, and letters!

[11*th April* 1785.] The state of the public revenue, after the termination of an expensive and disgraceful contest, in the progress of which we had suffered so great a defalcation of territory, necessarily engrossed universal attention. Pitt having stated, in a manner equally luminous and concise, the produce of the existing taxes, which he demonstrated to exhibit an increase during the last year of at least a million and a half sterling, concluded by announcing his confident hope of establishing a sinking fund in the course of the ensuing session.[1] That fund, arising out of the overplus of the revenue, he estimated at a million sterling. Fox instantly rose, and while he cautioned the House against too sanguine a reliance on financial calculations, which futurity might not realise, he expressed the most zealous co-operation in every measure for supporting the national credit. "I thank God," said he, "whatever difference of opinion may take place on other points, all parties are agreed in this respect. I trust, however, that the fund destined for so salutary a purpose will be made as ample as possible. One million a year appears to me too small a sum for producing extensive benefit when we calculate the chances against the duration of peace." Lord Mahon, on the contrary, maintained that if any fault could be imputed to his friend's plan, it lay in creating so large a fund for the redemption of the public debt. But the Minister, far from yielding his assent to this last proposition, though coming from a quarter for which he professed much respect, avowed that he felt a difficulty in resisting the temptation to apply even a greater sum than one million to the object in question, if it could be obtained

[1] "The Sinking Fund's unfathomable sea!
That most unliquidating liquid leaves
The debt unsunk, yet sinks all it receives."
—*Don Juan*, Canto xvi.—ED.

without too severely augmenting the public burdens. Yet, when pressed by Dempster in the course of the discussion to commence immediately so beneficial an operation of finance, and not delay it to another session, he replied that "he conceived it more wise as well as safe to postpone it for one year, as time would enable him to ascertain whether the favourable expectations which he entertained of an increase in the revenue should be justified by futurity." Having thus prepared the nation as well as Parliament for the adoption of so salutary a measure, he deferred its completion to the spring of 1786.

[18*th April* 1785.] These financial regulations were followed by Pitt's third and last attempt to reform the representation in the House of Commons. It was a day of much expectation, and produced a very full attendance, all being anxious to witness the extraordinary spectacle of the First Minister moving such a proposition. Pitt performed it with his accustomed ability, set off by the attractions of a most seductive eloquence; observing that "though he had twice failed in his preceding endeavours, yet he was encouraged to renew the experiment in consequence of two favourable circumstances." "The reform that I now propose," continued he, "coincides with the ideas of the best as well as of the most moderate men, and the present assembly, being newly elected, has not, like the last, put a negative on it." He then developed in the most lucid manner his plan, the basis of which was to purchase the franchises of thirty-six boroughs, so decayed or so venal as to be no longer worthy of sending representatives to Parliament, and to transfer their right of election to the counties. This great change, by which seventy-two members would be taken from an unsound part of the legislative body and thrown into the more

independent or upright portion of the House, it must be owned was highly attractive in theory. The motion with which he concluded, for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in Parliament, was strenuously supported by the two members for the county of York, Duncombe seconding it, and Wilberforce maintaining it by plausible, if not solid arguments.

Powis, who rose at an early period of the debate, combined great powers of elocution with judgment and principle. His speech, brilliant, animated, and convincing, was not unaccompanied with wit, but under the control of reason. All the specious axioms of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from which he deduced his asserted amelioration of the constitution, Powis attacked in succession. With peculiar propriety he reminded Pitt that it was not a county member or the representative of some opulent city who only a few years preceding had in that assembly moved, "That this House is bound to listen to the petitions of the people." "No," exclaimed he, "that motion, which would have done honour to the representative of the first county in England, was made by a person who then sat here for Old Sarum (Lord Camelford), one of those rotten boroughs destined by the present plan to be disfranchised. But if this principle is to form the foundation of the projected reform, how happens it that the Treasury, Admiralty, and Ordnance boroughs are to be exempted from its operation?" "Much stress had been laid on the corruption of the present times, yet with what decency can the Minister assert, in the face of so popular an assembly as he now addresses, that unless reformed they do not express the sense of the country? A late Administration it may perhaps be pretended was corrupt, and on its ruin was raised a

Government of opinion. A high opinion indeed we must necessarily entertain of Ministers who, as we know, do not cherish or employ any individual that has been formerly an agent of corruption." This pointed sarcasm, rendered more personal by the presence of Dundas and of Jenkinson, who were seated near Pitt, excited a burst of "Hear hims!" "I will not," concluded Powis, "treat with any reserve or respect the motion before the House. Hostile as I regard it to the constitution, I will meet it in the teeth and give it my unequivocal negative."

Nor was Lord North less able and eloquent on that evening than Powis, but with his arguments he mingled, as was his custom, more ridicule. Having remarked how few petitions had been presented to the House in favour of reform, the whole number not exceeding eight, "What," demanded he, "are we to infer from this circumstance? Is it apathy in the people? We were taught to believe that all England would with one voice support the plan for amending the national representation. Well may I exclaim with the man in the 'Rehearsal'—

'What horrid sound of silence doth assail mine ear!'"

Even Fox, though he supported Pitt's principle, yet resisted its application upon many points. While he spoke and voted with the Minister, he did not the less forcibly point out the incongruities and contradictions which met in Pitt's proposition. "I cannot perceive," observed Fox, "any superlative excellence in the present House of Commons which can justify a suspension for six years of the operation of the bill before us. No very flattering proofs of attention to the rights of the people have been exhibited by the majority within these

walls in their support of the Westminster scrutiny." "As little do I approve the means taken to carry into execution the principle in various other respects. Never will I agree to admit the compulsory purchase from a majority of the electors of a franchise which is the property of the whole body." Even upon the feature of the bill which seemed most formed to captivate, namely, an augmentation of the number of representatives for counties, Fox was not less severe. "I wholly disapprove," said he, "the idea of limiting parliamentary seats to men of ample fortunes or of eminence in their professions. The history of this country proves that we are not to expect from individuals in affluent circumstances the vigilance, energy, and exertion without which the House of Commons would lose its greatest force and weight. Human nature is too prone to indulgence, and the most meritorious public services have always been performed by persons in a condition of life removed from opulence." The truth of these remarks, forcibly exemplified in his own person and in that of Pitt, unquestionably made a deep impression.

The sentiment was not effaced by Dundas, who only excited a laugh at his own expense, when, rising as Fox concluded, he began with declaring that he considered it his duty to state the reasons which induced him to support the question; while Bankes,[1] whose independent mind revolted at every sacrifice of principle to private friendship or to personal elevation, did not hesitate to oppose it. "I am," said he, "a thorough advocate for parliamentary reform, but I do not the less reprobate the proposition now before us. It carries contradiction on its face, for it sanctions the sale and purchase of that very franchise which it declares at the same time

[1] He returned two members for Corfe Castle.—ED.

never ought to become an object of traffic." So sensible was the Minister to this observation, and to the quarter from which it came, that he immediately rose to obviate its effect. He did not, indeed, hesitate to avow that it wounded him deeply, "on account of the long and intimate friendship, mingled with just veneration, which he nourished for the person who thus attacked his measure." He even admitted the part of the bill in question to constitute a tender feature in its formation, though impossible to be erased or omitted when carrying the proposed reform into execution. Pitt addressed his short speech, which terminated the debate, exclusively to Bankes, seeming, like Julius in the senate-house, to exclaim, "Et tu, Brute, fili mi!" Probably Bankes lost the peerage by his elevated line of conduct on this and on other occasions, as Cardinal Mazarin observed of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who wished to marry Louis XIV., but who fired the cannon of the Bastile upon him, "Elle a tué son mari." The division, which did not take place till near four in the morning, rescued the constitution from Pitt's experiment: 248 persons, of whom I was one, negatived it; 174 supported the Minister. It was his last attempt to ameliorate our form of government. Time, reflection, and the awful example held out to mankind by France subsequently restrained his ardour, finally inducing him rather to bear with the defects of the British constitution, great as they may be, than to risk its total overthrow. I am, nevertheless, decidedly of opinion, in 1821, that a temperate parliamentary reform must, will, and ought to be adopted.

About this time, in the spring of 1785, appeared those celebrated productions denominated the "Rolliad" and the "Probationary Odes." The "Rolliad" assumed the shape of criticisms on an

imaginary poem, and might be termed poetico-prosaic, while the "Odes," to the number of twenty or more, were poetical compositions, for the greater part Pindaric. Both abounded with classic allusions and the keenest satire, decorated with the graces of verse, borrowing aid from the finest writers of antiquity, sparing no individuals, however elevated by rank, ability, or office, but levelling their shafts principally at the sovereign, at Pitt, Dundas, and Jenkinson. They obtained a prodigious circulation from the union of taste, malevolence, learning, and wit which illuminated every part of them, having passed through two-and-twenty editions in the lapse of about twenty-seven years between 1785 and 1812. Their reputed author was Mr. Joseph Richardson, who, I believe, inhabited one of the Inns of Court, and followed the profession of the law. With him were, however, joined various other men of talents, who contributed their respective quotas. At their head I should place Mr. George Ellis, a man well known in the literary world, as well as in the diplomatic and higher circles of society. But I have reason to suppose that General Burgoyne, Fitzpatrick, Mr. John Townshend (now Lord John), and others of Fox's friends or admirers, not only retouched some of the passages—they furnished whole odes. I omit Sheridan's name, because he positively denied in the House of Commons having had any participation in the productions. Even now, after the lapse of three-and-thirty years, though the far greater number of the individuals who are lashed or ridiculed in the "Rolliad" and the "Probationary Odes" have passed away—for I am one of the few survivors—yet they cannot be perused without exciting the most animated emotions.

The present Lord Rolle, then a commoner, and

one of the two representatives for the county of Devon, constituted the hero of the "Rolliad." His figure was handsome, as far as mere symmetry of limbs and regularity of features can deserve that epithet, for Nature had denied him all pretension to grace or elegance. Neither was his understanding apparently more cultivated than his manners were refined. He reminded me always of a Devonshire rustic, but he possessed plain common sense, a manly mind, and the faculty of stating his ideas in a few strong words. Representing a great maritime county, warmly attached to Ministers, and looking constantly to the peerage as his reward, he nevertheless preserved the independence of his character. Whatever ridicule the "Rolliad" has affected to throw upon his family, by making him descend from Rollo the Norman in the tenth century, his ancestors were men of property and consideration in the county of Devon at least ever since the reign of Henry VIII. There had even been a British peerage in the line, Mr. Rolle's uncle, Henry, having been raised to the dignity of a baron by George II., though the title expired in his own person. His nephew might therefore reasonably hope to revive it by lending a steady support to Administration, and he eventually obtained his object in 1796, after twelve years of hard parliamentary service. Rolle had early rendered himself obnoxious to Opposition, first by the severity of his comments on Fox's recall of Rodney in May 1782, and subsequently by his reflections on Burke's contempt of public opinion in May 1783, when, as Paymaster, he restored Powell and Bembridge to their respective offices, after the discovery made of their malversations. It is nevertheless probable that these two offences would scarcely have procured him the distinction of giving his name to the "Rolliad," if he had not

aggravated them afterwards by throwing out some pointed animadversions against Fox during the session of 1784, when Rolle treated with contemptuous levity his complaints respecting the violated rights of the electors of Westminster. This last attack, filling up the measure of his political transgressions as a member of Parliament, subjected him to the punishment of being stretched on the rack of satire.

[20*th April* 1785.] Precisely at this period Pitt moved the repeal of a tax which he himself had laid upon cotton in the preceding year, on account of the clamour excited by its operation among the manufacturers in the northern counties of the kingdom. Fox, while he seconded the motion, inveighed with acrimony against the financial system of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sheridan brought forward an amendment calculated to show that, the manufacturers being aggrieved by the tax, it was become necessary to explain and alter it. He added, "I passed part of last summer in Lancashire, and was an eye-witness to the exertions made by them to tranquillise their numerous workmen, as well as to preserve the general tranquillity of the country." Rolle suddenly interposing at this point of the discussion, accused Sheridan with inflaming the public mind and exciting by his speech general alarm or discontent. "I will not assert," continued he, "who was the person that went down to Lancashire in order to indispose the manufacturers against the taxes and to promote tumult. Neither will I say who it was that distributed seditious and inflammatory handbills throughout the country. But such was the fact, and if I could bring the proof home to the party whom I suspect, I would take proper steps to have his head stuck upon Temple Bar." An insinuation so serious, accompanied with such menaces,

could not be allowed to pass unnoticed by those against whom they were directed. Fox observed that the empty threat of sticking heads upon Temple Bar merited no reply, as he believed there did not exist any law which made the distribution of handbills a capital offence. "I am ignorant, however," added he, "of the fact itself, and I presume the honourable gentleman is too much a man of honour to make an assertion which he knows he cannot prove."

Sheridan rising in his turn, vindicated himself from the charge of pronouncing inflammatory speeches. "With regard to the handbills," said he, "I really know nothing respecting them, but I can easily conjecture the reason of the soreness expressed on the article of publications. Compositions less prosaic though more popular, I believe, have produced that irritability. I am aware that he may suspect me to have been the author of those productions, or at least to have had some connection with them. I do assure him, however, upon my honour, that I never saw one line of them till they met my eye in the newspaper." The allusion to the "Rolliad," which was then in universal circulation, excited general laughter, and Rolle, incensed to the highest degree, notwithstanding Sheridan's denial, started up exclaiming, "I hold the author of those works, let him be whom he may, as well as the works themselves, in sovereign contempt; but as the cap fits the two gentlemen, they are welcome to wear it. With respect to the law prohibiting seditious handbills and their circulation, if no such Act exists, there ought to be one enacted; and if I knew the person who has committed the offence, I would take the proper measures for bringing him to punishment." However pointed was this language, it had not hitherto discomposed a muscle of Sheridan's countenance,

which rarely indeed manifested any symptoms of anger or irritation. Assuming, nevertheless, a serious air, "While," observed he, "the gentleman shoots his bolts at random, I shall take no notice of them, but if he charges me with having any concern in circulating seditious handbills, I shall reply to him, both here and elsewhere, in very plain and very coarse terms." The conversation now terminated, Rolle remaining silent, and having only exposed himself needlessly by his interference, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not come forward either to justify his insinuation or to cover his retreat.

[*May* 1785.] Great mutual asperity and personalities between Pitt and Fox characterised the whole session. There never perhaps existed a man in whose bosom the passions of jealousy, envy, or resentment found less place than in Fox's, however vehement he might be when declaiming in the House of Commons. Nor did Pitt possess less elevation of mind, but he wanted his antagonist's placability and prompt oblivion of political animosities. Pitt's principles were less pliant and accommodating, his manners more retired and destitute of warmth, his temper was more irritable, and his expressions were more eloquently offensive. We must likewise consider that Fox at thirty-six beheld himself, in consequence of his own want of prudence and moderation, expelled from employment, necessitous, and surrounded with difficulties. Pitt, on the contrary, at only twenty-six, stood on the very pinnacle of royal and popular favour, invested with power, and sustained by official emoluments. It demanded, therefore, far more philosophy in the chief of Opposition than in the Minister to practise the advice of Horace to Dellius.[1]

[1] "Æquam memento rebus in arduis,
Servare mentem ; non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti, temperatam Lætitia."—Lib. ii. O. 3.—ED.

[*9th and 10th May* 1785.] In the irritated state of their feelings, scarcely any discussion arose which did not produce demonstrations of reciprocal animosity. Among the taxes which, in opening his budget, Pitt proposed to the House, was one to be raised on maid-servants, amounting to half-a-crown annually on each individual where only a single female was retained. Fox objected to it, adding, "I am not impelled to oppose this tax from any motives of a factious or party description, for I had no participation in the measures which have rendered necessary such heavy burthens." The remark gave rise to an acrimonious conversation, in the course of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer made some very invidious reflections on the coalition between Lord North and Fox. That nobleman was not present, but Jenkinson being seated near Pitt on the Treasury bench, Sheridan observed that "his friend had indeed formed a coalition with the noble Lord, which union he avowed and was ready to defend, whereas the Minister had formed a coalition of which he took every occasion to convince the House he was ashamed." Jenkinson, thus designated, stood up, and after stating that he could not avoid taking notice of allusions which were evidently levelled at himself, added, "I by no means wish to deny that I supported many of Lord North's measures during his Administration, but in the office which I filled as Secretary at War I was not responsible for the Ministerial plans sent me from the Treasury." Having vindicated himself on this point by showing that he only performed a subordinate part during the American contest, he next adverted to the tax on female servants, which formed the subject of debate. With a degree of humour which I never knew him display on any other occasion, "I appre-

hend," said he, "that this 'Maid's Tragedy' is only played off as a performance calculated to expose the Minister, rather than as a serious ground of complaint against the proposed tax, which is imposed with so light a hand that no person can justly term it a grievance."

Courtenay, nevertheless, unwilling to let pass so fair an opportunity of attacking Pitt, and setting at defiance all ordinary rules of parliamentary decorum, presented himself to the Speaker's notice. Having first exhorted the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take warning by the fate of Orpheus,[1] who fell a victim to his want of indulgence towards the other sex, he observed that the measure was directed against a commodity at which no other Minister had ever ventured publicly to point. Adverting next to the memorable history of Wat Tyler's rebellion, "Then," said he, "for the first time in modern ages, was started the idea of taxing female commodities. But it being alleged that the object of taxation was not yet arrived at sufficient maturity to become liable to such an operation of finance, an exciseman was dispatched to examine into the affair. He having previously consulted the then Master of the Rolls, that law officer gave it as his decided opinion that such a scrutiny was legal. It produced, however, as we know, a violent insurrection, which could not be suppressed without much bloodshed." The allusion to Kenyon and the Westminster scrutiny was followed by a sarcasm levelled at Jenkinson, who had recently stopped up a number of windows in his country-house of Addiscombe Place, near Croydon, on account of the heavy addi-

[1] Courtenay also applied to Gay the epithet of "the Orpheus of highwaymen." This sparkling Whig wrote a poem in praise of Tory Johnson, and the most eminent of talkers uttered his last phrase in 1816, at the good age of seventy-five.—D.

tional duty laid on them by Pitt in the preceding session.

"With respect," continued Courtenay, "to the opinion delivered from the Treasury bench, that the tax on maid-servants is so light as not to be worthy of evasion or to merit the name of a grievance, I can assure the House that individuals, however exalted may be their rank or however affluent their fortune, notwithstanding they enjoy six or seven sinecure pensions, yet have not the less thought proper to block up most of their windows in order to evade the commutation tax. Ireland," concluded he, "is a country to which, in common with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I feel much attachment; and I can answer for it that the present measure is not an Irish proposition. No act of Administration, on the contrary, can render him more unpopular in the sister kingdom than taxing such a commodity, and on these grounds I make no question of being supported by every Irish member." I have given the salient points of Courtenay's speech, which I heard him pronounce, because its personalities, when added to its indecorum, may convey some idea of the nature, language, and limits of debate in 1785. Such violations of decency, however highly seasoned they might be with Attic wit and enriched by classic citations—for no man better knew than Courtenay how to invoke at will Horace or Juvenal, Pope or Prior—yet from the greater refinement of the present times would scarcely be tolerated within the walls of the House of Commons in 1818.

But the great feature which characterised the session under review was the attempt made by Administration to form a commercial union with Ireland. It is commonly known in our parliamentary history by the name of "The Irish Propositions," and to

them Courtenay made allusion when he asserted that "a tax on servant-maids would not by any means be an Irish proposition." Unquestionably, after the political emancipation of Ireland from British supremacy and all legislative control which took place in 1782, the wish to re-unite the two countries by the chain of mutual benefits and an equal participation of the advantages of trade was worthy of a patriot Minister. But if the project did honour to its authors, the means by which they intended to realise it did not appear to have received all the previous consideration requisite for a subject of such magnitude, intricacy, and vast national importance. Pitt, when he undertook so arduous as well as complicated a work, demanding an intimate acquaintance with all the ramifications of trade between the two kingdoms, had not, however, the presumption to trust solely to his own knowledge. On Jenkinson he principally and almost exclusively relied, only reserving to himself the task of explaining the project and decorating it with all the graces of persuasion. We may safely assume that the peerage[1] to which Jenkinson was elevated in the succeeding year constituted the remuneration stipulated for his assistance in maturing and supporting this favourite measure of the Minister. Mr. Orde (since raised likewise to the British peerage), then Secretary for Ireland, opened it under the form of propositions in the House of Commons of that kingdom early in the month of February, and after the interval of about a fortnight, they having been assented to in the Irish Parliament, Pitt regularly introduced the business from the Treasury bench. The propositions or articles of commercial union, eleven in number, were read, and the great principles on which reposed the system itself received all the illustration which

[1] The Barony of Hawkesbury.—ED.

could be derived from eloquence. Far, however, from yielding an immediate assent to the plan, however seductive in theory, Lord North, Fox, and Eden, while they professed a desire to receive further elucidation, and to reserve their final opinion till they should be better informed, nevertheless started, even at this early stage, many doubts respecting the policy and the practicability of the measure itself.

Throughout the months of March and April various discussions took place relative to it, in all of which the impediments to its completion seemed to multiply and gain strength. The Minister, Fox observed, had begun in the wrong place, by communicating the propositions to the Irish Parliament before they were laid on the table of the English House of Commons—a remark which, I own, appeared to me to be just. Very early in March petitions began to pour in against it, first from Liverpool, next from Manchester; and about the middle of the month, Mr. Stanley, one of the representatives for the county of Lancaster, presented a petition transmitted to him by his constituents, with eighty thousand signatures annexed. Such an opposition, not made by individuals within the walls of the House, to whom factious motives might have been imputed, but originating among the commercial and manufacturing classes, might, it was natural to suppose, have compelled the Administration to pause before they pushed forward their plan. Every obstacle or remonstrance which arose appeared, nevertheless, rather to irritate than to convince or to arrest the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who reluctantly, and after considerable difficulty, acquiesced in allowing the different petitioners to be separately heard by counsel at the bar of the House. Nearly twelve weeks unavoidably elapsed in these examina-

tions, throughout the whole of which time Jenkinson performed, if not the first, certainly the second part. Nor was it till the month of May was considerably advanced that Pitt brought forward the propositions, now augmented from eleven to twenty-seven, as well as modified and altered upon many material points.

[*12th May* 1785.] Few debates which have ever arisen in either House of Parliament can compete in importance or in interest with the discussion of that memorable evening. The attendance bore a proportion to the magnitude of the subject, the numbers on the division exceeding, I believe, any which had been witnessed within those walls since the concluding weeks of Lord North's Administration. Pitt opened the subject with consummate ability, but, as it appeared to me, with the oratory of a sophist or a rhetorician rather than in the temperate and well-matured language of a wise statesman. On the contrary, Fox, though in my opinion too diffuse (a fault which distinguished almost every speech which he made on great occasions), yet exhibited a far more unprejudiced, comprehensive, calm, and sound intellect than his adversary. He appealed solely to the reason and understanding of his audience, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer, confident of being supported by an overwhelming majority, seemed to think that he might substitute his own will in the place of those commanding motives of state policy which ought alone to have determined his conduct. After exposing under various aspects the contradictions, the pertinacity, the injurious consequences, and the political errors that met in the Ministerial plan, Fox reverted to topics of a personal nature. Jenkinson formed the object of these observations, which laid bare to inspection the concealed network by which, as Fox asserted, the Minister was held in dependence on

the secret adviser of the sovereign. The Board of Trade, abolished in 1782, having been erected anew within three years after its suppression, under the denomination of a "committee of council for the superintendence of commerce," Jenkinson was placed at its head. Fox directed all the severity of his animadversions against this appointment, which again called out Jenkinson into public and active employment under Government after he had remained ever since Lord North's resignation without office in a species of political eclipse.

These remarks were followed by others, calculated to exhibit the Minister as a mere puppet, controlled by an unseen but superior power. "Until of late," exclaimed Fox, "he has affected to disclaim any connection with certain obnoxious characters. In a high tone he disavowed and reprobated all friendship with the individual who has long been suspected of exercising an unconstitutional influence over the government of this country. Such was his language at the time when a momentary popularity, founded on delusion, placed him, as he conceived, above the degradation of such an alliance. The case is now altered. He has involved himself, by his temerity, his confidence in his own ability, and his presumption, in a dilemma relative to Ireland from which he knows not how to extricate himself. Misery makes us acquainted with strange companions. Now that he begins to feel his weakness and insecurity, his expressions are less inflated and his proud rejection of obnoxious associates is heard no more—

> 'Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,
> Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba.'

He is now reduced to invoke assistance on any terms and from any quarter. The Irish proposi-

tions, ill digested, and framed for the surrender of every object dear to the people of Great Britain, have excited universal alarm. He is fallen from his elevation. Hence it arises that the light of influence has condescended to shine down upon him with unusual lustre. He has been openly comforted and caressed."

It might have been supposed that a Minister accustomed to meet and to repel every accusation which the ingenuity of party could fabricate, and little disposed to give quarter when misrepresented or attacked, would have risen to efface the impression made by Fox's speech. I own I anticipated it with a sort of certainty. He nevertheless sat silent. His conduct had been different on the 12th of January 1784, when, under a similar imputation, he instantly denied his knowledge of any secret influence. But he was not then supported by a majority. Jenkinson indeed attempted to answer Fox's objections to the propositions; but he neither noticed nor did he resent, nor still less did he deny, the imputation of maintaining a secret communication with the sovereign. He observed indeed that personal allusions had been made to himself, only adding, "No charge can, however, be brought against me, except a steady adherence to the party with whom I am connected in politics." The discussion having already been protracted almost till five in the morning, and sixteen new resolutions having grown out of the original eleven, to the probable operation or effect of which the far greater part of the members present were necessarily strangers, an immediate adjournment was moved by Lord North. A violent cry of "Question" arising from the Ministerial benches, Fox attempted to arrest their impatience by representing that if they persisted to force a division, they must make up their minds to

wait several hours longer before it took place. "The question," added he, "is big with destruction to the empire, and I therefore beseech the Minister for the honour of this assembly, as he values the prosperity of the two countries, as he respects his own character, to allow us to pause and to resume the debate on a future day." Some moments of suspense took place, Pitt declining to make any reply; when Dundas, rising, observed with a smile, that the appearance of the morning was pleasing in the highest degree. "The House," continued he, "seem to be in good spirits, and there is no impediment to prevent the right honourable gentleman from entertaining us, if he thinks proper, with a speech of two or three hours. The circumstance is one to which this audience is accustomed, and it cannot be doubted that they will listen to him with pleasure."

A refusal to adjourn, rendered still more irritating by the mode and language in which it was conveyed, called up Rigby, formerly the friend and ally of Dundas, though now enlisted under the banners of the Coalition. He reprobated the conduct of Ministers on the occasion, but he no longer excited the attention with which, during Lord North's Administration, he was heard whenever he mixed in debate. Lord Surrey and others, nevertheless, sustaining Fox's demand of immediate adjournment, and Pitt persisting in sullen silence, Powis declared that the state of his health would not permit him to remain any longer in so crowded a House. He demanded, therefore, time as indispensable for enabling him to comprehend and examine the new propositions submitted to their consideration. Having asked whether many gentlemen present were not in a similar predicament, he added, "If they are, they will not act conscien-

tiously unless they vote with me. They must be, on the contrary, traitors, lost to every principle of honour and of honesty, if they vote with the Minister on a question of such national importance, which they acknowledge that they do not understand." Pitt, who dreaded the effect of Powis's appeal, having observed that, "notwithstanding this ostentatious display of conscience, honour, and honesty, he believed there were many individuals present of as pure integrity and as respectable characters, who could conscientiously vote with him upon the question," Powis rose a second time. "It is not my intention," replied he, "to encroach on the special prerogative arrogated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—the right of using insulting language to members of this assembly. As little do I mean to invade his peculiar privilege of using sarcastic expressions towards all those who differ from him in opinion, together with every other personal affront suggesting itself to an irritable and inflammatory temper. But I will repeat, that those persons who do not understand the propositions any more than myself cannot conscientiously vote for the question."

Fox having likewise depictured the difficulty of comprehending a subject so complicated, added, "He must possess an intellect not given to the general race of mankind, and infinitely superior to any that I can claim, who pretends on so transient a view of the present measure to decide upon its merits. If, without understanding it, he blindly supports it, he is guilty of such a violation of his duty as no subsequent penitence can expiate. He sacrifices the commerce of his country to the whistling of a name. The Minister who can stake his official existence on the success of the question before us must be lost to all sense of character, while he who

servilely acquiesces sinks below the situation of a senator and disgraces the name of an Englishman." Notwithstanding these severe denunciations, two members had the courage to rise and to avow that they stood precisely in the predicament described, namely, of not understanding the propositions, and yet being ready to vote them upon grounds of confidence in the Administration. The first, who is now one of the greatest and wealthiest noblemen in the kingdom—an Earl, decorated with the order of the Garter, and distinguished by the personal favour of the Regent—was then the eldest son of a Yorkshire clergyman, rector of Swillington, in the same county, of very limited fortune, though of ancient descent, and who had been raised to the baronetage early in the present reign. I mean the late Rev. Sir William Lowther. His son, a man of very moderate parts, was one of the representatives for the county of Cumberland, a distinction which he owed to the protection of the Earl of Lonsdale. By him, to whom Mr. Lowther was distantly related,[1] he was finally adopted, Lord Lonsdale never having had any issue by his marriage with Lady Mary Stuart, daughter of the celebrated Earl of Bute.

The second person who ventured to make the same avowal, Sir Gregory Page Turner, was distinguished by great eccentricities of deportment, such, indeed, as to call in question on some occasions the sanity of his mind. I confess, nevertheless, that Fox's and Powis's severe animadversions on the conduct of those individuals who intrusted their political conscience to Ministerial direction appeared to me unjust as applied to the subject under debate. Probably among the 436 members who finally divided

[1] The Rev. Sir William Lowther was the third cousin of Lord Lonsdale, whose titles were conferred with remainder to the male heirs of the reverend baronet.—ED.

on the question not thirty-six were competent to form a sound estimate of the utility or pernicious nature of the propositions. So vast a scope did they embrace, and so difficult was it to adopt any well-matured opinion respecting their consequences to the two countries. Under such circumstances, what other course could a popular assembly pursue than to follow the authority of men who during successive months had applied their faculties to the object? I am unable, even now, after the lapse of three-and-thirty years, to say whether the Irish propositions would or would not have been productive of benefit to the two kingdoms. Yet I incline to think that the Irish nation, though they might have sacrificed their independence on particular points of commercial regulation or legislation, would have received solid compensations of many kinds for any such renunciation. But ignorance pervaded equally the Ministerial and the Opposition benches, though only two individuals then rose to make the confession. A third member, Humphrey Minchin, one of the representatives for Oakhampton, soon afterwards followed their example. Minchin possessed extensive information, was versed in parliamentary business, and performed a conspicuous part among the Opposition leaders. On the 30th of May he moved to adjourn the consideration of the Irish propositions for three months. "Throughout the whole progress of this most important measure," said he, "I have daily attended and attentively listened to every conversation respecting it. But I have not hitherto voted once, and the reason is—I am not ashamed to make the avowal—it has not been in my power to understand the resolutions. I am, however, able to add that I by no means stand alone in this predicament. Many men of undoubted abilities, in as well as out of this assembly, are in the same situation.

Nay, I believe I may safely assert that the bulk of the people in both countries are in a state of equal ignorance relative to the true scope, import, and, above all, the results to be expected from the propositions."

Nine-tenths of the House of Commons possessed neither leisure, nor ability, nor inclination to investigate so deep a subject, even had more time been granted for the purpose. And could it be expected that they would nullify their own votes? The demand, however specious, Fox well knew, was destitute of solidity, calculated rather to afford matter for declamation than for just accusation. Eden, who, upon all questions of commerce or manufactures, occupied among the Opposition the same place which Jenkinson filled under Administration, terminated this long debate. Vainly, however, did he adjure the Minister to postpone, even for a day, the consideration of so momentous a subject, though he reminded Pitt of the precipitation with which the vote respecting the Westminster scrutiny had been carried, and of the disgrace that succeeded. "At nearly as late an hour as we are now debating," said Eden, "in the triumph of party, was that ill-fated victory obtained, a measure which, even in the opinion of those who carried it, as well as in the estimation of the public, can never be mentioned except in terms of shame or of indignation." The Treasury bench making no reply, the division immediately took place. It fully equalled the Ministerial expectations—281 members blindly supporting Pitt, while Fox numbered only 155 who voted for the adjournment. I believe, during the whole time that I sat in Parliament, I never remained till so late an hour in the House. When I passed the Horse Guards on my way home the clock pointed to half-past eight. During the discussions respect-

ing Wilkes in the first years of the present reign, as I have been assured by old members, the debate lasted on one, if not on more than one occasion, till nine in the morning.

[19*th May* 1785.] The asperity and recrimination which characterised the early stages of the Irish propositions by no means diminished in violence as that measure advanced towards its completion. Burke, after comparing the situation of the British Government relative to Ireland with the position of England and America in 1774, the mother country in both cases attempting, through the medium of Parliament, to raise a revenue by legislative regulations, attacked Pitt in a very sensitive part. Observing Jenkinson seated on his right hand, "The Chancellor of the Exchequer," exclaimed he, "mounted aloft on the shoulders of his right honourable friend, seems to set at defiance all argument, and to despise every remonstrance. I envy not the statue its pedestal nor the pedestal its statue; one is well adapted to the other." Fox pursuing the simile, "If," said he, "following the example of the present Minister, I had sought when in office the species of support illustrated by the pedestal and the statue, I should not on the present day be accused of having manifested personal ambition or temerity during the time that I occupied a share in the Government. But I seek not for such support. My only pedestal is the British constitution." Though Jenkinson remained silent under these imputations, with which he was perhaps not wholly dissatisfied, yet Dundas did not allow them to pass unnoticed. While answering Fox he remarked that the pedestal and the statue which Burke's fancy had formed must have been founded on some mistake. "I conceive," added Dundas, "he alluded to the pedestal on which the late Secretary of State

attempted to place himself, and to bury under it the constitution of his country. We seek only constitutional support. The support to which he and his friends trust is not so constitutional; but such as it is I will not specify it, for it is unfit to be mentioned here." The allusion thus made to the Prince of Wales could not be misunderstood. Pitt, nevertheless, conscious that such an insinuation did not admit of proof, with great ingenuity attempted to give it a more general and undefined application.

"I rise," said he, "to say a few words respecting a subject which on this evening has assumed a most poetic and picturesque appearance. I mean the happy idea of a statue and a pedestal. After having derived so much advantage from it in argument, I hope its inventor will allow us to see it under a different dress, as it seems highly calculated to gratify another sense, if decorated with proper colouring."—"With respect to a constitutional support of a nature unfit or indelicate to mention in this House, the most constitutional support which I can conceive is the confidence of the crown, of Parliament, and of the nation. But if a set of men could exist who, having stormed the Cabinet and distributed among themselves the several departments of Government, should form a regular system for degrading their royal master to a cypher in the state; if they should then endeavour to secure possession of their power by erecting a new and unconstitutional executive authority, I desire to ask whether the support which they seek can, with any sort of regard to parliamentary decorum, be mentioned in this assembly?" Having extricated Dundas by so dexterous an explanation of his speech, Pitt proceeded to defend the measure under consideration. Nor did the House desert him, as 195 members supported Administration on

the division. Fox could only number ninety. But the party, however outvoted in Parliament, took their full revenge in ridicule, wit, and poetry. The statue and the pedestal were exhibited under various forms. One of the "Probationary Odes" published at this time thus describes Pitt and Jenkinson—

"Lo! hand in hand, advance th' enamoured pair;
This, Chatham's son, and that, the drudge of Bute.
Proud of their mutual love,
Like Nisus and Euryalus they move;
To glory's steepest heights together tend,
Each careless for himself, each anxious for his friend!
Hail! associate politicians!
Hail! sublime arithmeticians!
Hail! vast exhaustless source of Irish *propositions!*"

[*20th—30th May* 1785.] The session was principally if not solely protracted by the perilous attempt to frame a commercial union between England and Ireland. Pitt's fourth proposition, which stated that "the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in both countries, and binding Ireland to adopt all such regulations as Great Britain should enact," appeared to be subversive of the legislative independence of the former kingdom, though many ingenious reasons were adduced by Ministers to prove the contrary. Lord Beauchamp,[1] who took a leading part in the debate which arose on this proposition, moved an amendment to it. He occupied no mean place in the ranks of Opposition, and spoke, whenever he addressed the House, if not with eloquence, at least with knowledge of the subject. His person, elegantly formed, rose above the ordinary height, and his manners were noble yet ingratiating. Few individuals in either House of Parliament could feel a deeper interest in maintain-

[1] Afterwards second Marquis of Hertford. He was born 12th February 1743, and died in 1822.—ED.

ing and cementing the union of the two countries, he being heir to a vast patrimonial property situate in Ireland. Like most or all the members of his family, he was accused of loving money, and before he completed his thirty-fourth year he had married two of the richest heiresses of high birth to be found in England. The first, who was a daughter of Lord Windsor, could boast of few personal attractions, but the second, besides the gifts of fortune, had received from Nature such a degree of beauty as is rarely bestowed upon woman. Lady Beauchamp,[1] in 1785, though even then no longer in her first youth, possessed extraordinary charms. At the present time, in 1818, when she numbers over her head nearly sixty winters, she is still capable of inspiring passion. That she does indeed inspire passion in some sense of the word must be assumed from the empire which she maintains at this hour over the Regent—an empire depending, however, from the first moment of its origin, more on intellectual and moral endowments than on corporeal qualities, and reposing principally on admiration or esteem. We may reasonably doubt whether Diana de Poitiers, Ninon de l'Enclos, or Marion de l'Orme, three women who preserved their powers of captivating mankind even in the evening of life, could exhibit at her age finer remains of female grace than the Marchioness of Hertford retains at the present day. Lord Beauchamp's amendment could only procure thirty-six supporters, while 194 voted with Government. But it was not till the last days of May that the resolutions having finally passed the House of Commons, the Marquis of Graham carried them up to the bar of the Peers.

[1] This celebrated lady was daughter and heiress of Charles, ninth Viscount Irvine. In her later days she was still—

"All gentle and juvenile, curly and gay,
In the manner of—Ackerman's Dresses for May."—ED.

[*June* 1785.] Among the members who occupied throughout the session no inconsiderable portion of notice must be accounted Beaufoy. On all subjects connected with commerce he displayed a great variety of information, and his intentions were always directed to national benefit. Strongly attached to the Administration, he nevertheless preserved his independence of character, and might be esteemed rather a friend than a follower of the Minister. Few persons appeared so attentive to the aids of dress as Beaufoy, who rarely or never took his seat except attired with more than ordinary care. Indeed, it was commonly said, that whenever he intended to speak on any question, he prepared his figure for the act not less than his mind, under a conviction that his oratory produced a more favourable impression and was assisted by external elegance of appearance. His delivery, measured, grave, and sonorous, was as far removed from the precision of Bankes as from the fluency of Wilberforce. He possessed much command of expression and even dignity of language, but there was in his manner something theatrical, which diminished the effect of his eloquence. I have been assured that he received lessons of enunciation from old Sheridan, who gave lectures on the study and practice of oratory as a science.

Beaufoy manifested on every occasion the most deeply rooted prejudices against Lord North, as the conductor of the American war, a circumstance which, when added to his predilection for Pitt, procured him a distinguished niche in the "Rolliad." That production thus describes him—

> "Lo! Beaufoy rises, friend to soft repose,
> Whose gentle accents prompt the House to doze.
> His cadence just a general sleep provokes,
> Almost as quickly as Sir Richard's jokes.

> Thy slumbers, North, he strives in vain to break;
> When all are sleeping, thou wouldst scarce awake,
> Though from his lips severe invectives fell,
> Sharp as the acid he delights to sell."

In order that the allusion contained in the last line might not be mistaken, the "Rolliad" subjoins, "This accomplished orator, although the elegance of his diction and smoothness of his manner partake rather of the properties of oil, is, in his commercial capacity, a dealer in vinegar." "Sir Richard" was designed for Sir Richard Hill, as "Sir Joseph" always signified Sir Joseph Mawbey throughout the "Rolliad."

Nor was this the only mention made of Beaufoy in the satirical compositions of that period which emanated from Fox's party. In one of the "Political Eclogues," published towards the end of 1786, entitled "Margaret Nicholson," he is introduced. The eclogue in question (written as a parody on the "Daphnis" of Virgil, where Menalcas and Mopsus contend in alternate verse), presents Wilkes and Jenkinson congratulating each other on the King's recent escape from assassination. Beaufoy was accustomed sometimes to entertain the Cabinet at his house in Great George Street, in allusion to which fact Jenkinson exclaims—

> "Twice every year, with Beaufoy as we dine,
> Poured to the brim—eternal George—be thine
> Two foaming cups of his nectareous juice,
> Which—new to gods—no mortal vines produce."

A circumstance which I witnessed at this period of the session may serve to show the thorough information possessed by Beaufoy on matters of trade, and the enormous frauds which were then practised on the revenue. Beaufoy having presented a petition to the House from the dealers in

tobacco, praying relief in various matters interesting to themselves and to the country at large, detailed the mode in which tobacco was smuggled into the kingdom. "A vessel laden with that article," said he, "comes up the Thames to Gravesend, where a custom-house officer rows on board her. As soon as he sets his foot on the deck, he walks to the ladder conducting to the captain's cabin, where he writes in chalk, 'Have you any tobacco for me?' The captain no sooner peruses these words, than, after first erasing them, he replies in the same way, 'I have. What is your price?' The officer, using a similar previous precaution, answers, 'Five guineas a hogshead;' to which the captain (still taking care not to allow the question and the answer to remain at the same time, as a testimony against him of this illicit correspondence), simply chalks on the ladder, 'Agreed.' The bargain being thus concluded, on the ensuing night the ship is got up as far as Limehouse, where barges are held ready for conveying the tobacco on shore. Before the next morning, I am assured that thirty hogsheads are frequently landed, and the revenue consequently defrauded to the amount of £2000." Beaufoy's recital much amused the House, but Pitt rising as soon as he had concluded, observed, that "after such an exposition, so interesting to the trade and revenue of the country, late as it was in the session" (I believe it happened on the 10th of June), "he should think it his duty to move for leave to bring in a bill for the future regulation of the trade in tobacco." Within a few days subsequent he carried his intention into effect.

At this time arrived in London from the banks of the Ganges, where he had so long occupied the highest place, Governor-General Hastings. He will fill too distinguished a place in these Memoirs not to trace the leading features of his character. When

he landed in his native country he had attained his fifty-second year, after having resided during the far greater part of his memorable life either on the Coast of Coromandel or in Bengal. In his person he was thin but not tall, of a spare habit, very bald, with a countenance placid and thoughtful, but when animated full of intelligence. Never perhaps did any man who passed the Cape of Good Hope display a mind more elevated above mercenary considerations. Placed in a situation where he might have amassed immense wealth without exciting censure, he revisited England with only a modest competence. Animated by the ambition of maintaining, perhaps of extending, the dominions of the East India Company, he looked down on pecuniary concerns. Mrs. Hastings, who was more attentive to that essential article, brought home about £40,000, acquired without her husband's privity or approval, but she had the imprudence to place it in the hands of a London merchant, who shortly afterwards proved bankrupt. The fact, not the loss, chagrined Hastings, when the circumstance became known to him. At this hour, in 1818, he subsists principally or wholly on the annuity of £4000 a year conferred on him by the East India Company, driving nearly four miles to church on Sundays in a one-horse chair, and exhibiting no splendour in his domestic establishment.[1] When Major Scott quitted Bengal, the Governor-General presented him a bond for £10,000, intended as a remuneration for the office of his future agent in England. The bond bearing interest, when reclaimed by Scott was paid, but not without causing inconvenience, or I might say pecuniary difficulty, to Hastings.

[1] Hastings lived to accomplish one great object of his life, the purchase of Daylesford, the seat of his ancestors. He built the present mansion, in which Mrs. Hastings died in 1833. It now belongs to strangers.—D.

The only individual related to him by consanguinity, who came out to Bengal while he remained at the head of the Government, was a gentleman in the military service of the Company. His name was Gardiner. I believe he never attained beyond the rank of a subaltern, and he fell in the storming of Fort Gwalior by Colonel Popham, about the year 1780. Previous to the attack, Gardiner made his will on a drum-head. It began thus: "Whereas I have the honour of being related to the Governor-General, and whereas I possess no fortune, have incurred many debts, and have besides a mistress with two children; I hereby bequeath my debts, my affairs, my girl, and my two children to the protection of Mr. Hastings." The Governor-General took the persons thus made over to him under his immediate care, paid the demands and fulfilled the will. He displayed a magnanimous mind, as much superior to revenge as above the desire of accumulating riches. Lacam, a man whom I well knew, and who planned the formation of a harbour at Saugur, not far from the mouth of the Ganges, was patronised by Hastings. Conceiving the project to be calculated for public utility, he even lent Lacam a large sum of money for the purpose of carrying it into execution. Nevertheless, when, in 1774, Clavering, Monson, and Francis arrived at Calcutta, Lacam joined them in their hostility to Hastings's measures, regardless of his preceding obligations to the Governor-General. The gentleman who related this fact to me added, "I pressed him to compel Lacam to repay the money, after experiencing such proofs of his ingratitude."—"I cannot," replied he. "Why?" was my answer. "Because," rejoined he, "Lacam is my enemy."—"Yet," added the person who communicated to me the anecdote, "I believe at that time Hastings was not worth £10,000."

In private life, he was playful and gay to a degree hardly conceivable, never carrying his political vexations into the bosom of his family. Of a temper so buoyant and elastic that the instant he quitted the Council board, where he had been assailed by every species of opposition, often heightened by personal acrimony, oblivious of these painful occurrences, he mixed in society like a youth on whom care had never intruded. How classic was his mind, how philosophic, how alive to the elegant images and ideas presented to us by antiquity, his imitation of Horace's—

"Otium Divos rogat impotenti"

may best evince. He composed it on his return home to England while on board the vessel which brought him from Bengal. His allusions to Lord Clive and to Alexander Elliot, the first of whom lived "to hate his envied lot," while the last perished prematurely in the Cuttack country (a part of the Coromandel Coast then little known), just as his public career commenced;—these two exemplifications of the inanity of all human affairs and of the misfortunes which pursue us through life in different shapes, are perhaps finer allusions than the Roman poet's—

"Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem;
Longa Tithonum minuit senectus."

The conclusion, addressed to Lord Teignmouth, then Mr. Shore, admirably delineates his own moderate desires and objects of noble solicitude:—

"For me, O Shore, I only claim
To merit, not to seek for fame,
The good and just to please:
A state above the fear of want,
Domestic love, Heaven's choicest grant,
Health, leisure, peace, and ease."

This invocation seems to have been ultimately realised in his person, after surviving not only the impeachment which met him on setting foot in his native country, but likewise the far greater number of those distinguished individuals who originated and conducted the parliamentary prosecution against him. Yet it may not be unworthy of remark as a singular fact, that his colleague and opponent, Sir Philip Francis, as well as his successor in the Government-General of India, Sir John Macpherson, are both now living, three-and-thirty years subsequent to the events under our consideration.

I do not mean to defend every political act of Hastings while placed at the head of our affairs in Bengal; still less is it my intention to deny that a desire to augment the territories of the East India Company may have impelled him on some occasions to advance beyond the limits of a pacific and moderate system of policy. The infraction of the treaty of Poorunder, the severities exercised against the inhabitants of Rohilcund, the treatment of Cheyt Singh, and of various Begums or princesses of Hindostan, all these proceedings, if separately considered, as detached from his general administration, furnish matter of historical censure and condemnation. But even these facts derive some justification from the circumstances which produced them, or are far overbalanced by the splendid proofs which he exhibited of firmness, energy, and resources of mind. His situation from 1775 down to 1782, while Lord North was engaged in the American war, demanded the greatest exertions. From England he could derive only a precarious support. Around him he beheld hostility, aggravated by treachery or incapacity. It was in the beginning of 1778 that, in order to extricate the

Presidency of Bombay, he planned the adventurous march from the banks of the Jumna to Surat, across the whole peninsula of India. Goddard executed this bold, wise, and hazardous enterprise with scarcely seven thousand native troops under his command, traversing hostile and almost unexplored portions of that continent for the space of above eight hundred miles, nearly at the same period of time when Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga and Egerton capitulated at Wargaum to a Mahratta army. Bombay, then an insulated settlement, remote from aid, involved in an unfortunate and disgraceful contest which had reduced it to the verge of bankruptcy, was relieved by Hastings. In 1781 he extended similar protection to Madras, after the memorable irruption of Hyder Ally and the defeat sustained by Fletcher and Baillie. How much admiration does his conduct at Benares, during the rebellion of Cheyt Singh, justly excite! Surrounded by enemies, open or concealed, protected only by a few companies of sepoys whom he was unable to pay, and without the means of obtaining timely support, his courage, calmness, and prudence triumphed over the insurrection. Peace with our Asiatic and European foes ultimately took place. Public credit was preserved, and when Hastings quitted Calcutta on the 1st of February 1785, universal tranquillity reigned throughout our territories in the East.

That a man who had performed services so resplendent should, instead of finding himself decorated with honours on revisiting his native country, meet an impeachment—that he should be compared by Burke to Verres and by Courtenay to Cortez—may at first view produce surprise; but on closer inspection the causes of such an extraordinary fact become apparent. Hastings had excited numerous

as well as powerful enemies while resident in India. At their head stood Burke and Fox. The former, though he might be impelled by principle to prosecute a great public culprit—for such he appeared to Burke—yet mingled much personal animosity and many prejudices with his moral disapprobation. Fox stood pledged to Burke's opinions on almost every point respecting India. Both had, during successive sessions, made Hastings's administration the perpetual subject of their crimination. They could not easily, therefore, recede; and Major Scott, the Governor-General's avowed agent, with consummate imprudence, incessantly goaded them to bring forward their charges. All the friends of Clavering and of Monson joined them. A far more implacable and able adversary was beheld in the person of Francis, whose accurate local information upon all matters which had taken place under Hastings's government enabled him to probe every vulnerable part and to expose every latent error. Such a phalanx, to which Sheridan joined his transcendent talents and eloquence, was never perhaps drawn out in array against any individual.

Hastings, whose whole life had been passed in Asia, and who very imperfectly knew the ground at St. James's or in Westminster, ignorantly supposed that his public merits would at least balance, if not obliterate, any acts of severity, or any strong measures to which he might have had recourse, for the purpose, not of enriching himself, but of replenishing the exhausted treasury of Bengal. Other motives of action besides love of justice moreover animated the chiefs of Opposition in bringing Hastings to the bar of the House of Peers. They well knew how favourable an opinion the King entertained of his services, and how graciously he would be received by his sovereign. If Pitt refused to concur in the

articles of impeachment, they would have accused him of a base subservience to the "Bengal squad," with protecting delinquents, and obstructing the progress of a parliamentary prosecution against a criminal of the first magnitude. His concurrence in the prosecution might injure him essentially at court and deprive him of many supporters in both Houses. Nor could Dundas, who, when chairman of "the secret committee" instituted in 1781, had so affirmatively reprobated various acts of the Governor-General, now decline to join in impeaching him without exposing himself to the reproach of inconsistency.

The parliamentary history of the present reign offered, moreover, no slight encouragement to Hastings's enemies. Lord Clive, the Albuquerque of the eighteenth century, the conqueror and the founder of our empire on the Ganges, after his return was attacked in the House of Commons, and narrowly escaped impeachment. Rodney was pursued with similar violence. On the 14th of May 1781, Burke inveighed against Rodney in language of the utmost asperity for his treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. The sufferings of the Jews settled on that island were held up by Burke to public abhorrence, in terms as forcible as the severities exercised by Hastings on Cheyt Singh or on the Princesses of Oude. Though defeated by a large majority of nearly two to one, yet he declared his determination of bringing Rodney to a public account, and was only prevented from executing his design by the splendid victory obtained over De Grasse on the 12th of April 1782. Lord North himself was saved by that victory from impeachment. If the engagement in question had proved as indecisive as Keppel's action of the 27th of July 1778, and if the combined fleets of France and

Spain had consequently prosecuted their expedition against Jamaica, which island, unprotected by a victorious British fleet, could not have made a long or an effectual resistance, Lord North would infallibly have been sent to the Tower.

The Earl of Sandwich, whom Fox accused of treachery, and who was designated by him on the 23d of January 1782 as "the faithful servant of the King of France, desirous to perform good service to his masters of the House of Bourbon," must have been involved in Lord North's misfortunes or punishment. So must Lord George Germaine. I heard Fox and Burke both declare, on the 28th of November 1781, that "he would speedily atone for all his crimes on the public scaffold, a victim to the just vengeance of an undone people." Burke added, "A day of reckoning will soon arrive. Whenever it comes, I shall be ready to impeach the American Secretary of State." It may justly be questioned whether Jenkinson would not have been impeached as the pretended agent of an unconstitutional influence, if affairs had taken a disastrous turn after Lord North's resignation. Lastly, Lord Melville, in 1806, was, like Hastings, arraigned at the bar of the Upper House, and I have been assured that if the first article of his impeachment had been divided into two separate charges, instead of being put to the vote as one, there would have been a majority against him on both. Many peers who did not think him guilty of the whole charge collectively, and therefore acquitted him of it, yet would have condemned him on one or the other of the allegations. Erskine, who then held the great seal, was believed to be well aware of this fact; but to have felt no disposition to punish with severity a native of Scotland and a member of his own profession. Pitt was already dead; and the new Coalition having

got into power, their object was accomplished. In 1785 things were differently disposed. Only four days after Hastings arrived in London, Burke, rising for the express purpose, gave notice that "he would prosecute the inquiry into the Governor-General's administration and support the charges advanced during his absence. The actual session being too far elapsed to allow of his bringing forward the business before Parliament would rise, he must necessarily postpone it till that assembly should be again convoked."

[*July* 1785.] Early in the month of July died the Earl of Portmore, at the advanced age of almost eighty-five. He had been very handsome in his youth, and being a younger son, was commonly known under the reign of George I. by the name of "Beau Colyear." I have dined in company with him when nearly fourscore, and even at that late period of life he retained his activity of body, with many personal graces, and the most polished manners, set off by a green riband. Sir David Colyear, his father, who distinguished himself under William III., was raised by that prince to the peerage of Scotland. His mother, the celebrated Catherine Sedley, mistress of James II., had been created by him Countess of Dorchester; but the patent being only for life, the English earldom did not descend to her son. I believe there is no instance since the Restoration of a similar creation. Indeed, the right of creating a peer or peeress for life (or, as it is denominated in France, a brevet) is not, I apprehend, acknowledged to reside in the crown at the present time.[1] Soon after his father's decease, Lord Portmore married, in 1732, Juliana, Duchess

[1] The creation of a life-peerage in 1856 for Sir James Parke (Wensleydale) was successfully resisted by the House of Lords, but subsequently law lords have been created for life.—ED.

Dowager of Leeds. They lived together above half a century, and she survived him more than nine years, dying in 1794, at ninety. When young, she had been a friend of the celebrated Lady Vane, and is mentioned in the Memoirs of that extraordinary woman, published by Smollett in his novel of "Peregrine Pickle." The Duchess of Leeds exhibited in my time a melancholy example of human decrepitude, frightful in her person, wholly deprived of one eye, superannuated, and sinking under infirmities. She outlived her first husband, Peregrine, Duke of Leeds, more than sixty-three years, he having died in May 1731. Her jointure amounted to £3000 per annum, and she consequently drew from the Leeds estate the incredible sum of £190,000 during her widowhood. Lord Portmore's patrimonial property being very small, he sold £1000 of the Duchess's jointure almost immediately after their marriage. The remaining £2000 a year formed the largest portion of their income.

No part of Pitt's Ministerial machinery exposed him to comments so severe or to ridicule so pointed as the selection of Arden and Macdonald for the posts of Attorney and Solicitor General. The Master of the Rolls,[1] however fiery in his temper or coarse in his manners, was universally acknowledged to be a lawyer of profound professional knowledge. But Arden's merit seemed to consist principally in the strong predilection manifested towards him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Not that he was destitute of considerable talents, but his person ignoble; his countenance, which, though it did not absolutely want a nose (like Sir William Davenant's face), yet had only a very defective feature of that name; his manner, flippant, noisy, and inelegant, excited animadversion. Nor

[1] Lord Kenyon.—ED.

did he compensate for these defects by any superior jurisprudential acquisitions. Unsupported by Pitt's favour, never would Arden have reached the heights of the law. As little would Macdonald have attained that eminence by eloquence, energy of character, or great endowments of mind. His connections of birth and of alliance rather than his legal ability finally made him Chief Baron of the Exchequer; but, less fortunate than Arden, he never could force the doors of the Upper House. A baronetcy has formed the termination of his career, and covered his retreat from public life. It was already evident in 1785 that Scott must outrun every competitor at the bar. Three years afterwards he became Solicitor-General, and perpetually advancing, still holds, in 1821, the great seal of England.[1]

Notwithstanding the late period of the session, a bill was brought into the House of Commons at this time for "regulating the duration of polls and scrutinies in the election of members of Parliament." I believe the Solicitor-General moved for leave to introduce it, but it was drawn up by the Attorney-General, its object being to prevent a repetition of the delays which had recently occurred in Covent Garden. Fox opposed it through every stage, as it assumed for its basis the legality of the late scrutiny, while Sheridan, Windham, and Eden assailed the unfortunate Attorney-General, pointing out the gross errors, ignorance, or incongruities which pervaded almost every clause. Courtenay coming forward at the close of the discussion, completed Arden's embarrassment, and oppressed him under the coarsest, most insulting irony. After observing that he could no longer sit silent, from the strong emotions of his sympathy at the sight of a great man in distress,

[1] Lord Eldon.—ED.

Courtenay remarked the malicious species of warfare carried on against Arden. "The present attack," said he, "is not made by gentlemen of his own profession, but by individuals who seem, somehow or other, to have acquired more accurate ideas of law and of the constitution than his Majesty's Attorney-General. I trust, however, that he will not sink into despair, but will consider himself in the situation of Sancho Pança when he was beat with the shoemaker's last; Don Quixote having satisfactorily proved to the disconsolate squire that the meanness of the instrument erased the disgrace of the chastisement."—"The learned gentleman's candour," continued Courtenay, "merits particular praise; for he ingenuously owns his ignorance of the very statutes on which he founds the necessity for introducing his bill. All is fair, liberal, and open in his proceedings, and unless it had been universally known that he really is the Attorney-General, no man could ever have suspected it from the professional ability which he has displayed throughout the present debate." Little or no reply was attempted, either by Arden or from any individual on the Ministerial side of the House, to these sarcasms, which greatly amused the audience but did not affect the division. Eighty-nine votes supported Government. The Opposition could only muster forty-four, and Arden's bill finally passed with all its defects.

During the whole month of June the Irish propositions made little progress in the Upper House. Lord Stormont and Lord Loughborough loudly demanded from Ministers some information; in particular, an explanation of the reasons which had induced the Cabinet to transmute the eleven propositions originally laid before the House of Commons into twenty, as they now appeared on

the table, altogether distinct in their principle. But scarcely any light could be obtained from the members of Administration. Lord Sydney, whose official province it was to dispense it, excused himself from giving details on account of his apprehension that he might unintentionally let fall some fact or remark which by misconstruction would be prejudicial to the two countries. Nor did the Chancellor appear disposed to fill up the void left by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The five remaining Cabinet Ministers observed a similar line of conduct. Earl Gower rarely indeed mixed in debate, and Lord Howe, except on professional subjects, when he was compelled to rise, never violated his habitual taciturnity. Lord Camden, who subsequently came forward with equal eloquence and knowledge of the subject, either had not yet qualified himself to take part in the debate or reserved himself for a future occasion. The Marquis of Carmarthen, ever since he made his memorable attack on Lord Sackville in February 1782, as if overcome by that effort, seemed hardly to have recovered the use of speech. The Duke of Richmond, indeed, by no means lay under a similar imputation, but, either from inability to comprehend the propositions, like Mr. Lowther, Sir Gregory Page Turner, and Mr. Minchin, or disapproving them, I believe he never once opened his lips from the moment of their first introduction till they finally passed. Under these extraordinary circumstances Lord Carlisle, not without some reason and some wit, remarked that while seven of his Majesty's confidential servants were present (strange to relate), not a particle of information could be extracted from them. "I lament," added he, "that the Nile flows not here, and though we have the *septem ostia Nili*, their channels

are dried up: far from fertilising the soil, they dispense no drop of moisture."

[*8th July* 1785.] As the measure advanced, Lord Sydney, however, found his tongue, and opened the debate, if not in a luminous manner, at least with much more comprehension of the subject than I had ever expected from him. Lord Camden at the same time, like Priam, buckling on his armour, appeared in the front ranks. On the other side Lord Stormont and Lord Loughborough exposed the injurious, or rather destructive, consequences which it was justly to be apprehended might flow from precipitation. But the feature of that evening's discussion which excited the deepest interest was the part taken by the Marquis of Lansdowne. Since his elevation to the high rank of the peerage which had been conferred on him towards the close of the preceding year, he had rarely attended in his place, and scarcely mixed in public life. Withdrawn to his seat of Bowood in Wiltshire, but always attentive to the progress of events, and having stationed two sentinels in the House of Commons, namely, Barré and Alderman Townshend, he remained like a lion couchant, ready if occasion presented itself to reappear at any moment on the stage. Rising when Lord Stormont concluded, he delivered his opinion at very considerable length. Few noblemen possessed a larger stake in the sister kingdom than himself. The tenor of his speech seemed to justify those persons who accused him of systematic insincerity or duplicity, for while he spoke strongly in favour of the propositions, answering Lord Stormont's objections and urging immediate decision, he at the same time laid a broad ground for impeaching Ministers, if, from want of due caution, they should plunge the empire into embarrassment. On comparing the different passages of his discourse, they

appeared to be not the composition of one man, but rather of two individuals animated by opposite intentions or convictions. Nor could it escape observation in how different a manner he alluded to the Duke of Rutland, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, from the sarcastic and almost contumelious expressions which he used when mentioning the English Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"I repose," said Lord Lansdowne, "the fullest confidence in the ability of the noble Duke who is placed at the head of affairs in Ireland, as well as in the talents of his Secretary. Their property constitutes no mean security for their conduct in a transaction so pregnant with momentous results. With respect to our own Ministers, they must be sunk in the most criminal infatuation if they have not maturely prepared this great system, if they have not ascertained all its bearings and tendencies and consulted every source of knowledge. I cannot pretend to assert what are the actual dispositions and wishes of the Irish respecting the measure. I am just from the woods; I have no correspondences; but as far as the information of a common man extends, I consider all delay as most dangerous. If, my Lords, this measure is not wise and proper, what other can be substituted for it? We may find fault with the system; we may say that the author is too young and is ignorant of the duties that are demanded by his situation; we may conceive that if we were placed in his office we could do better; and that if another had remained a little longer in his employment all points depending between England and Ireland would have been adjusted. Perhaps we may exclaim, 'How, in God's name, did this man twist himself in to be a Minister?' But we must take matters as we find them, and deliberate maturely before we come to any decision." When

we appreciate the spirit which pervaded Lord Lansdowne's speech, the pointed allusion made to Pitt's want of property contrasted with the ample security afforded to the country in that particular by the Lord-Lieutenant and by Mr. Orde, together with the personal reflections on the mode by which Pitt attained to power—when we consider these circumstances, it is not possible to doubt of the hostile sentiments by which the Marquis was animated towards the Minister. He may be said to have exhaled his chagrin by this attack, which only proved the extent of his animosity. Administration, with whom he nevertheless voted, carried the question on that evening by more than two to one, and the House went into a committee on the propositions.

[18*th July* 1785.] If the debate of the 8th of July excited great attention from the appearance and speech of Lord Lansdowne, the discussion which arose ten days later in the same assembly awakened still stronger interest. Lord Sackville, who, during near forty years, had acted so distinguished, though, under many points of view, so unfortunate a part on the theatre of war and of state, who, after the business of Minden and the loss of America, had nevertheless been raised by George III. to the peerage as a remuneration for his services, and who, approaching the close of life, had now, with undiminished energies of mind, withdrawn in some degree from politics; this nobleman, who fills so considerable a space under two reigns, was beheld for the last time engaged in active exertion. From the commencement of the Irish propositions as a Ministerial measure, he had invariably deprecated and lamented their introduction. Though he did not, like the Marquis of Lansdowne, possess any landed property in Ire-

land, yet the long residence which during his youth he had made in Dublin, when added to the intimate knowledge which, as Secretary, he had acquired under the Duke of Dorset, his father, respecting the people, parties, and interests of that country, entitled his opinions to great respect. He had, besides, recently visited the island and its capital in the summer of 1784. Early in the month of June he left London for Stonelands Park in Sussex, where he remained during the period that the propositions were delayed in their passage through the Upper House by the petitions of the manufacturers. But on a day being fixed for considering the report from the committee, when the last favourable opportunity of opposing the measure would, as he well knew, present itself, he determined, though by no means in a state of good health, to attend in his place.

About seventy peers were present on that occasion, but the Ministerial defence was conducted almost solely by the Chancellor.

Lord Sackville depictured in language of force but of moderation the calamitous effects which he foresaw or believed would result to both nations from the propositions. "The matter is trivial to myself," continued he, "in comparison with many of your Lordships. I can only be interested for posterity. Whatever may be the issue of our deliberations, my own personal concern is small. I am arrived at that period of life when it would ill become me to be deeply affected by any decision of this House. But I see before me many peers to whom the system may be productive of most important consequences. They, I make no doubt, will live to curse the day that gave it birth. I perceive in its aspect incurable jealousies and endless discord. Should a rupture take place between the two coun-

tries, though it is not difficult to see which would prevail, yet the result will be alike fatal to both. I implore your Lordships to act with caution, and not lightly to come to a vote which admits of no recall." Having endeavoured dispassionately to prove the erroneous or injudicious principles on which the system reposed, he urged the expediency of substituting in its place a union of the two kingdoms. Lord Lansdowne, when touching on this point in the course of his speech a few days earlier, had declared such a measure, however desirable it might be, as representing almost insurmountable impediments to its completion. On the contrary, Lord Sackville represented it as, if not easy, yet practicable; and productive, whenever it should be effected, of invaluable advantages to both nations. He examined and answered the objections set up to the attempt, nor did he spare the Minister while engaged in discussing the question. With great perspicuity he demonstrated how impracticable it would be found to unite the English and Irish people on commercial principles in any solid or permanent bond, while he showed that where all their dependence was placed in one and the same Legislature, every source of suspicion, distrust, and jealousy would be permanently extinguished.

His conclusion was highly impressive. "I look forward, my Lords," said he, "to this happy consummation with the utmost anxiety, and shall be rejoiced to see commissioners appointed by his Majesty for negotiating so important a work. It will not probably take place in my time. Nevertheless, I hope that the period when it shall be effected is not very distant. Happen whenever it may, the event will ensure to both kingdoms inestimable and lasting benefits."—"I trust the present measure

may still be suspended, and that we may be impelled to direct our whole attention to that union, so desirable by the wise of each country. And if the resolutions before us could only be withdrawn, should no other peer in this assembly be found to undertake it, old as I am, I will move for an address to the King, praying that steps may be taken for accomplishing that union, on which depends the prosperity, not only of England and of Ireland, but of the whole empire." If we consider that these words were the last ever pronounced by Lord Sackville in the House of Peers, they may be regarded as almost prophetic, and assuredly they entitle him to be ranked among the most enlightened British statesmen of the eighteenth century. Pitt, though he either did not then perceive their wisdom, or wanted sufficient magnanimity and expansion of mind to adopt the union recommended by Lord Sackville in preference to his own rash as well as ill-digested system, yet ultimately realised the plan pointed out by that nobleman. Fifteen years did not elapse without his recurring to the expedient which in 1785 he treated with neglect. Nor is it to be accounted among the least singular facts of our own time that a man who by the sentence of a court-martial had been rendered incapable of serving the crown in a military capacity, and on whom as a Minister the unpopularity of the American war peculiarly rested, should yet, when in his seventieth year, lay the first stone as a peer of the union between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Sackville may indeed be said, with nearly as much truth, to have exhausted his last breath in the senate as did the great Earl of Chatham. Both spoke with extraordinary energy in contradiction to measures which they deprecated as pernicious to their country. Both survived the exertion a very short

time; the latter nobleman, only a few days; the former, not six weeks.

Never was any act less dictated by a spirit of faction than Lord Sackville's conduct on the 18th of July. All his inclinations, as I know, leaned towards Government. He had most disinterestedly and firmly supported Pitt in January 1784, when his aid was very essential in both Houses of Parliament to a young First Minister struggling against a powerful majority. Subsequent to that period he had continued to be animated by the same principles. His Majesty had not in his dominions a more loyal, attached, and grateful subject. With more than one member of the existing Cabinet he lived on terms of friendship. I allude to the Chancellor and to Lord Sydney. The remark might be extended to Lord Gower. On the contrary, he cultivated no intimacy with any of the adherents of the Coalition. Some coldness even existed between Lord North and him on account of the manner in which that nobleman had to a certain degree sacrificed or abandoned him, from the exigency of affairs during the last weeks of his convulsed and expiring Administration. Lord Sackville, in opposing the Irish propositions, was only impelled by his conviction of their inexpediency and dangerous tendency, a conviction founded on local knowledge and confirmed by reflection. Yet the spirit of party attributed his conduct to personal feelings of ambition or discontent. Satirical prints were exposed to sale in the shops, where he appears haranguing the House of Peers and encouraging them to attack the Irish propositions, while Lord Stormont and Lord Derby in the background halloo and support him. But his mind was superior to such considerations at a moment when he probably anticipated his departure from all sublunary deliberations as not remote, how-

ever unapparent to common observers. In fact, during the course of the debate he was so much indisposed as to be compelled more than once to leave the House. I breakfasted with him on the following morning in Pall Mall, previous to his return to Stonelands, which was my last interview with him, as I set out for Paris soon afterwards, and did not return till he was no more. Nor had I then any suspicion or apprehension of his approaching dissolution, though I remarked that his voice was feeble, and that he did not hold himself as upright as was his custom. There was something more serious and kind than ordinary in his manner of parting with me. Possibly he thought, though I made no such reflection, that we might not meet again. He had declined in strength for several weeks, owing to the effects of a medicine which he was habituated to take with a view of alleviating the pain occasioned by the disease of the stone. This medicine, a species of lixivium, unquestionably produced the effect intended; but by corroding the coats of the stomach it abbreviated, or rather terminated, his life.

[19*th*—25*th July* 1785.] The motion made by Lord Sackville on the 18th of July to postpone for four months the consideration of the Irish propositions having been negatived by a great majority, only thirty peers supporting, while eighty-four opposed it, the resolutions, when voted, were brought down to the House of Commons. One, and only one, discussion took place there on the subject, but no division was attempted. Eden, Fox, and Sheridan recapitulated their former arguments against the measure. On this occasion, Jenkinson, coming conspicuously forward, expressed his decided belief that, whatever irritation might be excited against the system at the present moment, yet as soon as it should

be thoroughly understood, there would not be found a man in Ireland possessing a sound understanding who could refuse it his assent. Pitt repeated the same opinion in still stronger terms. Fox was not, however, deterred by these declarations from reiterating all his objections. With great force of reasoning he demonstrated the contradiction and incongruity of the two systems, one opened in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Orde, the other originating here, each opposed to the other in many of their most important principles. Where, he demanded, was to be found the present necessity for this commercial arrangement between the two countries? Ireland did not require it; and wantonly to bring forward so vast a measure, of which no man could predict or ascertain the consequences, appeared to be in itself an act of temerity as well as of danger. "If," concluded he, "by the operation of influence and corruption the resolutions can be forced through the Irish Parliament, yet so violent is the detestation of the Irish people towards them, that the nation will unquestionably effect their repeal within a short time."

Previous to the commencement of the debate on the 25th of July, Pitt moved a long address to the crown, highly approving, or rather panegyrising, the commercial resolutions adopted by the House. Sheridan exhausted his talents for ridicule on this panegyric, which he denominated a manifesto, and not an address. "It is," continued he, "an impudent libel on the British and the Irish Parliaments, and a libel on the throne."—"That the resolutions are unpopular here daily experience must convince. That they are still more unpopular in Ireland I can assert from indisputable authority. The whole transaction throughout every stage of its progress has been a trick and a fallacy. It was my intention

to have expressed my sentiments in a still more deliberate manner than I have done in this House, and I have only to lament my own want of industry in not composing a commentary on the propositions. If I had so done, as I fully intended, I would not have acted in a concealed manner. My name should have been affixed to the performance." To this manly, severe, and eloquent philippic no answer was attempted from the Treasury bench. Pitt and Jenkinson sat silent, but the address passed without any division. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, confident in the success of his system, and not doubting of its favourable reception in the Irish Parliament, instantly moved for leave to bring in a bill for "finally regulating the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries." Nor did he desist from his determination in compliance with Fox's remonstrances, who warned him that by so premature and precipitate an act he violated the decency due towards the Legislature of Ireland, they having as yet no cognisance of the resolutions. Pitt nevertheless continuing inflexible, the question was put from the chair and carried in the affirmative, after which an adjournment took place.

[*28th July—2d August* 1785.] It might naturally have been supposed that the Minister, who, after more than five months of unremitting exertion, had, in defiance of so many impediments, carried his measure triumphantly through the two British Houses of Parliament, would have well ascertained that he should not meet with a defeat on the other side of the Channel. But the event proved that his expectations rested on a fallacious or insecure foundation. Only ten days after the adjournment at Westminster, when Mr. Orde opened the system

in the Irish House of Commons, an opposition of the most determined nature was experienced by Government. Grattan, — a name distinguished above all others in the annals of Irish eloquence and Irish patriotism during the course of the eighteenth century,—supported by Flood, Burgh, and many eminent members of that assembly, levelled his severest animadversions on the Ministerial propositions. Curran, then young, and who has since risen to such celebrity in the sister kingdom, gave shining proof of his talents in support of the same cause. These illustrious orators, who so long "held the bar or senate in their spell," thundered against Pitt's system as subversive of the national dignity and freedom. Not that Government wanted advocates of equal ability, at whose head I should place Fitzgibbon, then Attorney-General, since created Earl of Clare in Ireland, and raised by Pitt to the British peerage in 1799. But the unpopularity of the measure, which appeared to strike at the legislative independence of Ireland, overcame every effort to sustain it. After a debate protracted till nine on the ensuing morning, when 235 members voted, the propositions were only carried by nineteen. Even that small majority could not be regarded as permanent, and diminished on every division. Under these circumstances, Orde, in whom was vested the executive administration (for the Duke of Rutland was only a name), yielding to the torrent, moved an adjournment. Never was a Ministerial defeat more signal. The system of commercial settlement reared with so much difficulty dissolved at once, leaving no wreck behind. It was, if possible, more odious among the Irish people than in the Parliament; and the illuminations by which Dublin testified the

national exultation completed the humiliation of the Government.

When we dispassionately examine this great plan through the medium of time, we must admit that the conception was grand, the design laudable, and the advantages expected to result from it such as might do honour to the most enlightened or patriotic Minister, if he could have realised them for the common welfare of both islands. Nor is it to be doubted that Pitt's motives in originating the measure were elevated, pure, and indicated no vulgar ambition. But neither can we deny that throughout the whole transaction we recognise much temerity, miscalculation or error, presumption, and inflexibility. These qualities, which generally characterise youth, will find some apology on reflecting that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had scarcely completed his twenty-sixth year when the propositions were sent up to the House of Peers. Conquerors have laid waste the earth and favourites have exercised supreme power at very early periods of life; but I believe there is no instance of the First Minister of a free country being placed so early on such an eminence. The first Earl of Mansfield, when speaking of Pitt on another occasion, to which I shall allude in the course of these Memoirs, said, "He is not a great Minister. He is a great young Minister."

The same excuse cannot be made for Jenkinson, who acted as the guide of Pitt, and who appears to have participated in his credulous anticipation of the favourable reception which the propositions would experience in Ireland. But his share of the glory or the obloquy was only inferior and subordinate. He was not a member of the Cabinet. Nor can we doubt that he had already made his bargain with the First Minister, and received in

return for his assistance and support the promise of a British peerage, though from prudential considerations its accomplishment was postponed till the ensuing year. He might even esteem his reward more certain and secure from a discomfited than from a triumphant First Lord of the Treasury. Pitt, if he had carried every point in Ireland with the same facility as in England, might possibly, when solicited to realise Jenkinson's expectations, have replied with Richard—

> "I am not in the giving vein to-day.
> Thou troublest me. I am not in the vein."

Fox did not hesitate at least to assert in various of his speeches that Jenkinson's favour was manifested more openly to the Minister in proportion to, and in consequence of, his distress arising from the difficulties into which he had plunged himself by bringing forward the propositions. Dundas possessed so flexible and accommodating a political conscience, that no sacrifice of opinion affected his nerves. A man who in 1782 could speak and vote against parliamentary reform, without hesitating in 1783 and in 1785 to support by his voice and his vote the same measure moved by the same individual, was necessarily composed of pliant materials. The season of the year, when Parliament was not sitting, and when many months must elapse before it would probably be again convoked for business, covered the Ministerial defeat sustained in Dublin, which became insensibly obliterated from the public mind. The Irish propositions, though they occupied all attention in 1785, seemed to be scarcely remembered in 1786. Fox, it is true, alluded to them in terms of the strongest reprobation on the first day of the ensuing session, when he advised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to declare expli-

citly his determination never more to revive a measure so odious to the trading interests, manufacturers, and merchants of both kingdoms. But subsequent to that mention they sunk into political oblivion.

[*August* 1785.] Some days previous to the adjournment of the two Houses I left London for Paris. Since my visit to that capital in the preceding year, Marie Antoinette had given a second heir to the throne, created Duke of Normandy, afterwards the unfortunate Louis XVII., if, indeed, he can be properly ranked among the French kings. But this auspicious event, which naturally should have endeared the Queen to the nation, did not restore her popularity, and she laboured under great and general prejudices entertained against her. Nor had the finances, conducted by Calonne, assumed a prosperous appearance. The Ministry remained unchanged; Vergennes, though only at the head of the Foreign Department, constituting the mainspring of the Administration, as the first Mr. Pitt had done among us under George II. Choiseul, the most vigorous Minister whom the French had beheld since the prosperous periods of Louis XIV.'s reign, unless we should except the Marshal de Belleisle,—Choiseul was no more. He expired in retirement, though not in disgrace, some months earlier, passing the close of his life in a splendid but philosophic retreat, worthy of Lucullus or of Cicero, at his palace of Chanteloup near Amboise, on the banks of the Loire, in one of the most delicious parts of France. During my stay at Paris, public attention was principally engrossed by the memorable transaction of the diamond necklace, in which Madame de la Motte performed so important a part.[1] I happened to be at Versailles

[1] Mr. H. Vizetelly published in 1867 "The Story of the Diamond Necklace, Told in Detail for the First Time."—ED.

on the very day, the 15th of August, when the Cardinal de Rohan, at the time that he was preparing to celebrate mass in the chapel royal, was arrested by order of the King. Such an event taking place in the person of a member of the Sacred College, an ecclesiastic of the highest birth and greatest connections, related through the kings of Navarre to the sovereign himself, and Grand Almoner of France, might well excite universal amazement. Since the arrest of Fouquet, superintendent of the finances, by Louis XIV. in 1661, no similar act of royal authority had been performed; for we cannot justly compare with it the seizure and imprisonment of the Duke du Maine in 1718, by order of the Regent Duke of Orleans, as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Prince Cellamare.[1] The Cardinal de Rohan's crime was private and personal, wholly unconnected with the state, though affecting the person and character of the Queen.

Prince Louis de Rohan, second brother of the Duke de Montbazon, had attained his fifty-first year when the calamitous adventure in question took place. He was a prelate of elegant manners, unceasingly pursuing pleasure, yet nourishing a restless ambition. His talents, though specious, were not regulated by judgment. Credulous, and easily duped by necessitous or artful individuals, who rendered him subservient to their purposes, his vast revenues, arising from the bishopric of Strasburg, the abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, and other ecclesiastical benefices, laid him open to solicitations of every description. Previous to his attainment of the episcopal dignity, while only coadjutor of Strasburg, he had been employed in the diplomatic line, and filled the post of ambassador

[1] Antonio Giudice, Prince de Cellamare, born 1657, died 1723. —ED.

from the court of France at Vienna under the reign of Maria Theresa during a considerable time. After his return home, an ardent thirst of power impelled him to attempt reaching the Ministerial situation left vacant by Maurepas. Nor was the expectation altogether chimerical, and we may reasonably doubt whether the Cardinal de Lomenie,[1] who scarcely five years later attained it, proved himself more capable of extricating France from her embarrassments than was the Cardinal de Rohan. But Louis XVI. had imbibed very strong prejudices against him, and the Queen held him in still greater aversion. Yet, in defiance of these impediments, his efforts were directed to acquire her favour. He was, besides, not insensible to her personal charms, and entertained the presumptuous hope of rendering himself acceptable to her. The Queen, who at this time had not completed her thirtieth year, possessed great attractions, loved admiration, and was accessible to flattery. Other cardinals had presumed to address their vows to preceding queens of France—the Cardinal of Lorraine to Catherine of Medicis; Richelieu to Mary of Medicis after the death of Henry IV., and subsequently to Anne of Austria; Fleury to the consort of Louis XV. Without drawing the slightest inference from the fact injurious to Marie Antoinette's honour, it may be assumed as certain that the Cardinal regarded her with predilection, not merely as the arbitress of his political destiny, but as an object of personal attachment.

Among the numerous individuals who then frequented Versailles with the view of advancing their fortune was Madame de la Motte Valois. Her descent from Henry II., King of France, by one of his mistresses, a Piedmontese lady of noble extraction named St. Remy, having been accidentally

[1] Cardinal Etienne Charles Loménie de Brienne, born 1727, died 1794.—ED.

discovered and incontestably proved, she became an object of royal notice.[1] A small pension was bestowed on her, and Mademoiselle de Valois, aided by these propitious circumstances, was soon afterwards married to a gentleman of the name of La Motte, one of the Count de Provence's bodyguards. His functions retaining him at Versailles near the person of that prince, she became well known to the Cardinal de Rohan, whose character, inclinations, and foibles she appears to have studied with no ordinary attention. In 1785 she had nearly passed the limits of youth, and she never possessed beauty; but her total want of moral principle, when added to her poverty and habits of expense, induced her to adopt the most desperate expedients for recruiting her finances. A circumstance which took place about this time facilitated their success. Boehmer, a German jeweller, well known at the French court, possessing a most costly diamond necklace, valued at near £70,000 sterling, obtained permission to exhibit it to her Majesty, hoping that she might become the purchaser of so superb an article of female ornament. The Queen was not, however, captivated by its splendour, and immediately declined the proposal. Madame de la Motte having received information of the fact, took the resolution of fabricating a letter from the Queen to herself, authorising her to made the purchase. In the letter that princess was made to express a determination of taking the necklace at a certain indicated price, under the express reserve, however, that the matter should remain a profound secret, and that Boehmer would agree to receive his payment by instalments, in notes under her own hand, drawn on her treasurer at stipulated periods.

Furnished with so specious an authority, Madame

[1] Her royal descent was more than doubtful.—ED.

de la Motte repaired in person to the Cardinal. Having in confidence submitted to him Marie Antoinette's pretended letter, she then expatiated on the invaluable occasion which at length presented itself to him of acquiring that princess's favour and conferring on her an indelible obligation. She concluded by urging him to see Boehmer, and to accelerate by his assurances of the Queen's approbation (the proof of which fact was before him) the termination of the affair. Credulous as the Cardinal proved himself to be throughout the whole business, and peculiarly open to deception as he was on all points that appeared to facilitate his attainment of the Queen's particular regard, he nevertheless refused to embark in it without previously receiving from her own mouth the requisite authority. Madame de la Motte and her husband, who foresaw the impediment, had already provided against it. There resided at that time in Paris a female of Italian extraction, aged twenty-four, by name Mademoiselle d'Oliva, who performed at one of the theatres. In her figure she bore a considerable degree of resemblance to Marie Antoinette. Her they induced, by a sum of money, to personate the Queen, assuring her that it was only a frolic, which could lead to no unpleasant or serious consequences. She consented, received from Madame de la Motte instructions how to conduct herself, and was held in readiness for acting the part assigned her.

All the preparations being thus arranged, Madame de la Motte acquainted the Cardinal, that however reluctant her Majesty might be to come forward personally on such an occasion, she nevertheless felt the propriety of his Eminence's scruples. In order to remove them, and at the same time to give him a proof of her deep sense of his service in procuring her the necklace, she therefore had

resolved on granting him an interview in the gardens of Versailles. But, as a discovery must inevitably bring the whole transaction to the King's knowledge—a disclosure which she deprecated—it became indispensable to adopt certain precautions. With that view she had fixed on a shady and retired spot at a little distance from her own apartments in the palace, near the orangery, to which place, under cover of the evening, she could repair muffled up in such a manner as to elude notice. Their interview, she added, must necessarily be very short, and she absolutely refused to speak a single word lest she might be overheard. Instead of verbally authorising the Cardinal to pledge her authority to Boehmer, it was therefore settled that she should hold in her hand a flower, which, on his approaching her to know her pleasure, she would immediately extend to him as a mark of her approval.

However much we may wonder that he could acquiesce in so gross a deception, or could consent to take part in such a mysterious, obscure, and hazardous intrigue, yet it cannot be doubted that he became a dupe to the artifices of the unprincipled female who planned the whole scheme of plunder. The delusion thus projected was carried into effect with complete success. On the evening appointed, Mademoiselle d'Oliva, dressed in such a manner as to personate the Queen, her face concealed and protected by the shades of approaching night, being stationed at the place agreed on, Madame de la Motte conducted the Cardinal to it. As soon as he approached the supposed princess, he entreated to be informed by her Majesty whether it was her desire that the affair confided to Madame de la Motte should be negotiated and concluded by him as her representative. To this demand the female figure assented, according to the predetermined

arrangement, by extending to him the flower, accompanied with an inclination of her body. The Cardinal, delighted with such a reception, was preparing to put himself on one knee and to kiss her hand, when his conductress, alarmed lest a too near approach might enable him to detect the imposture, interposed, exclaiming that there were persons at a small distance by whom they would be discovered. In his eagerness to retreat, the Cardinal slipping, had nearly measured his length on the ground, and the party broke up with precipitation.

Convinced that he had now received an unquestionable assurance of Marie Antoinette's approbation, and had secured her future favour, with all its important results, by the service which he should render her, the Cardinal no longer hesitated to pledge himself to Boehmer. Having procured from him a deduction of above £8000 on the price demanded, promissory notes or bills for the remainder, exceeding £60,000, drawn and signed in the Queen's name, payable at various periods by her treasurer, were delivered to Boehmer by Madame de la Motte. She then received from him the necklace. Her husband having obtained leave of absence, under pretence of visiting the place of his nativity, Bar-sur-Aube in Champagne, carried off the diamonds, quitted France, and arrived in London, where he disposed of some of the finest stones among the jewellers of our metropolis. His wife, trusting to the Cardinal's interest, rank, and ecclesiastical dignity for protection, as well as to conceal so disgraceful a business whenever it should be discovered, remained at Bar. The unfortunate prelate, placed in a situation not unlike that of Malvolio in "Twelfth Night," when he is duped by Maria and supposes himself distinguished by Olivia, continued in unsuspecting security at court. But the day on which the

first of her Majesty's promissory engagements became due (amounting to about £17,000) having elapsed without any notification of payment from her treasurer, Boehmer expressed some surprise at the circumstance to a friend who held an office in the Queen's household.

When the information was communicated to that princess, her amazement and consternation are not to be adequately depictured in words. So difficult to believe was the fact, that several days elapsed before her inquiries satisfied her of its reality. As soon, however, as the part which the Cardinal de Rohan had performed in it became fully ascertained, she laid the whole matter before the King. Louis, not less astonished than herself, after consulting with some of his Ministers on the steps necessary to be adopted, finally determined to arrest the Cardinal. Unquestionably it would have been wiser if he had drawn a veil over the transaction, and had left the imprudent prelate to the consequences of his own fatuity. He was conducted to the Bastile, invariably maintaining that he had acted throughout the whole business with the purest intentions, always conceiving, however erroneously, that he was authorised by her Majesty, and was doing her a pleasure by facilitating her acquisition of the necklace. Madame de la Motte, Mademoiselle d'Oliva, and some other individuals, suspected or accused of being implicated in this enormous robbery, were subsequently conveyed to the same fortress. Among them was a very celebrated adventurer or impostor, Count Cagliostro,[1] who had, however, I believe, committed no other crime except the act of casting the Cardinal

[1] Giuseppe Balsamo, calling himself Alexandre, Comte de Cagliostro, was born June 8, 1743. After a long course of imposture he was condemned to death at Rome, but the sentence was commuted, and he died in prison in 1795.—ED.

de Rohan's horoscope. Notwithstanding the palpable ignorance and innocence of the Queen relative to every part of the affair, yet such was the malignity of the Parisians, and through so prejudiced a medium were all her actions viewed, that a numerous class of society either believed, or affected to believe, her implicated in the guilt of the whole transaction. I shall have occasion to resume the subject in the course of the year 1786.

Having thus enumerated the leading circumstances connected with the diamond necklace, one of the most extraordinary events which took place in any European court during the course of the eighteenth century, I am tempted to recount an adventure in which I was deeply and personally engaged, that may appear almost equally incredible with the story of the Cardinal de Rohan. Its nature and delicacy have hitherto prevented me from divulging it to the world, though nearly half a century has already elapsed since it happened; but I may without impropriety transmit it to posterity. If the tragical recollections connected with Marie Antoinette must ever agitate the human mind, the history which I am about to relate respects a princess whose misfortunes and premature end warmly interested her contemporaries, and will be perused with emotion in future times. I mean the Queen of Denmark, Caroline Matilda, consort of Christian VII., and sister of George III. Her fate bore indeed some analogy to that of Marie Antoinette. Both possessed personal attractions; but no comparison could be made between the Austrian and the English princess. The former had received from Nature an air of majesty, an elegance of form, and a grace altogether peculiar to herself. Caroline Matilda, though not deficient in manner, affable, and full of condescension, yet possessed only

the ordinary accompaniments of youth, set off by a good complexion, pleasing features, and embonpoint. Both were accused of gallantries. Both were precipitated from the throne, imprisoned, and subjected to the most severe interrogatories. Here, indeed, the parallel terminates, as the powerful interposition of the British crown, sustained by a British squadron, rescued the Danish queen from undergoing the punishment which the hostile invasion of France only drew down upon the unfortunate consort of Louis XVI. After premising these facts, I shall commence the recital without further preface.

Returning through Pomerania in the autumn of the year 1774 from a tour round the Baltic, I passed two days at a country palace of the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, detained by his obliging hospitality. Adolphus Frederick IV., eldest of the four brothers of George III.'s queen, was then about six-and-thirty years of age, unmarried, slender in figure, of an adust complexion, agreeable in his manners, receiving English gentlemen, who occasionally, though rarely, visited his summer retreat, with peculiar attention. I had the honour to dine twice with the Duke during my short stay in his territories. At table, surrounded by his little court, composed of young and agreeable individuals of both sexes, he amused me by recounting some particulars of the English who had from time to time been his guests. The Earl and Countess of Effingham[1] were among the number. "They were always seated," said he, "opposite each other at dinner; and no sooner was the dessert placed before us than my Lord, ordering his lady to open her mouth, threw dragées (sugarplums) into it across the table with surprising dex-

[1] Thomas, third Earl of Effingham, married Catherine, daughter of Metcalfe Proctor, of Thorpe, near Leeds. He died 15th November 1791.—ED.

terity." The fact, extraordinary as it may appear, was related to me by the Duke; and those persons who remember, as I do, the nobleman to whom I allude will admit the eccentricity of his deportment, dress, and character. He died in the island of Jamaica, where he was sent governor. On quitting Strelitz, I directed my course to Zell, impelled by a desire to see and to pay my respects to the young Queen of Denmark, who then resided in the castle of that name. I experienced from her Majesty the most gracious reception. As I had visited Copenhagen in the spring of the same year, she made various inquiries respecting her two children: I mean the present reigning King of Denmark and the Duchess of Holstein-Augustembourg. The Queen herself was then only in the twenty-fourth year of her age. Sent, as she was, at sixteen to a dissolute court, and married to Christian VII., whose vices rendered him unworthy of her, surrounded by bad examples and abandoned to her own control before the empire of reason could operate, Caroline Matilda had not completed her twenty-first year when she found herself a prisoner in the castle of Cronsberg. She was not indeed a captive at Zell, where she had a court, and enjoyed apparently personal freedom, but, nevertheless, she could by no means be regarded as a free agent. Her own sister, the hereditary Princess of Brunswick,[1] acted by directions of George III. as a spy on her conduct, usually coming over to Zell every Wednesday and returning to Brunswick on the ensuing Saturday. I know the fact from the Queen's own mouth. There was in the aspect of the castle of Zell, its towers, moat, drawbridge, long galleries, and Gothic features, all the scenery realising the descriptions of fortresses where

[1] Augusta, mother of Caroline, wife of George IV. She died in London, 1813.—ED.

imprisoned princesses were detained in bondage. It was the age of those exhibitions when I travelled in Germany. At Stettin, while dining with the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau a few days before I arrived at Zell, I had seen the Princess Royal of Prussia, Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, first wife of the late King, Frederick William II., who was there confined for her gallantries. Robert, Duke of Ancaster, then Marquis of Lindsey, a young nobleman of extraordinary eccentricity of character, and capable of undertaking any enterprise, however desperate or dangerous, was so touched with her misfortunes and imprisonment, that in 1777 he planned her liberation. And he would certainly have attempted it if the design had not been discovered and prevented. The Princess of Tour and Taxis, Augusta Elizabeth, was about the same time immured during many years in a castle of Wirtemberg by her brother, the reigning Duke of that country.

Often as I was placed opposite to the Queen Caroline Matilda at table, Sophia of Zell, consort of George I., from whom she lineally descended, recurred to my recollection. It was, in fact, the same story in the same family, acted over again at the distance of eighty or ninety years. Sophia suffered indeed a much severer and longer captivity for very problematical offences ;[1] but both expired under a dark cloud, and both now repose side by side in the great church of Zell, without any monument to commemorate their existence. After a stay of three days in that city, I set out for Hamburgh. Pre-

[1] On the authority of a correspondence, probably forged to deceive posterity (a not uncommon proceeding), poor Sophia Dorothea is held by many persons to be guilty of all the charges brought against her. Her enemies—and she had none more hostile than her husband—destroyed her reputation when living, and did their utmost to render her memory infamous after death.—D.

vious to my departure, her Majesty desired me, if I should see Mr. Mathias, then the British Minister to the Hanse Towns, to inquire of him how soon she might expect the company of French comedians to arrive who annually visited Zell. On the evening of my arrival in Hamburgh, being invited to supper at the house of one of the principal burgomasters or senators, I there found myself among a crowd of the Danish nobility of both sexes, who on account of their adherence to the exiled Queen resided at Altona. Having been disgraced and compelled to quit Copenhagen, they took refuge in this town, which stands on the territory of Denmark, though only separated from Hamburgh by a space of some hundred yards. As I had so recently seen and conversed with that princess, they availed themselves of the occasion to put many questions to me respecting her. I answered them with frankness, not sparing my animadversions on the treatment which she had received from the party by whom she had been dethroned. One gentleman, nearly related to the lady at whose house I was entertained, called on me at the hotel where I lodged three days afterwards. He had been keeper of the privy purse to Christian VII. during the tour which he made in 1768 to France and England. Our conversation turning on the revolution of January 1772, he gave me a confidential account of all the circumstances which produced and accompanied that tragical event. At the French comedy on the subsequent evening, where we met, he requested leave to wait on me next morning, in a manner which seemed to indicate that he had some communication to make of importance.

On Saturday, the 1st of October, he renewed the subject of the exiled Queen. Being encouraged by

my replies, he ventured, not without some hesitation, to ask me if I should be disposed to render her a service. As I perfectly comprehended the nature and objects of the question, I instantly answered that I was ready to engage hand and heart in her cause. "You are, then," said he, "the person whom we want. I am deputed by a body of men who are desirous and able to replace her on the throne, and to invest her with supreme power during the King's incapacity. We cannot proceed a step without previously ascertaining whether her Majesty is willing to return to Copenhagen; and the difficulty of opening any communication with her, beset as she is with spies, is such that we have not hitherto been able to surmount that impediment. Your arrival offers a means to approach her. Will you undertake the commission?" Having reiterated my assurances that he might dispose of my time and all my efforts in any way or manner which could contribute to effect the object; "I am satisfied," said he, "and will make my report without delay to those by whom I have been sent. Expect to hear further from me."

Two days subsequent to this conversation, he introduced me to the young Baron de Schimmelman, eldest son of the Baron of that name, one of the most wealthy and powerful individuals in Denmark. Having brought him to my apartments and joined our hands, he withdrew, leaving us alone. The Baron, with great emotion, then opened to me the motive of his visit, first demanding if we were secure from being either overheard or interrupted. When I had tranquillised him on both particulars, he briefly stated the reasons which impelled him and the persons with whom he acted to attempt the restoration of the Queen Caroline Matilda. He protested that no sentiments of private interest or

ambition, and still less of revenge, stimulated his conduct. Nor did he disguise the dangers of the enterprise. But the deplorable condition of his country, under a King fallen into a state of total imbecility, the administration of which kingdom was committed by its rulers to a Ministry without vigour or capacity, demanded, he said, the exertions of every good subject to effect its extrication. He candidly admitted the errors and imprudence which had produced the catastrophe of January 1772; but he added that adversity had no doubt instructed the young Queen. Above all, he deplored the rupture of that ancient political connection between Denmark and England which had followed the severe treatment experienced by a British princess, sister of George III.

After thus justifying the principles by which he was actuated, he assured me that so soon as her Majesty should have signified her consent to and her co-operation in the measures necessary to be adopted for her restoration, she should receive from the party with whom he was connected the most convincing proofs of their ability to replace her on the throne. "My affairs," concluded he, "call me to Copenhagen, where my presence may be eminently useful to the cause. But I will to-morrow introduce you to the Baron de Bulow, and from him you will receive your instructions." With the last-named nobleman (to whom Monsieur de Schimmelman made me known on the evening following our interview) I settled every part of the plan. Bulow, though a Danish subject, was of Hanoverian extraction, and joined to great caution calmness as well as ability. He had been Master of the Horse to the Queen, and enjoyed her confidence. No man could be better acquainted with her character, virtues, and defects. "Our first

objects," observed he, "are limited to knowing that she is disposed to return to Copenhagen, where, during the King's incapacity and the minority of her son, she must be invested with supreme authority. It would be attended with too great risk to commit any matters to paper, as you might be intercepted on your road to Zell. We must therefore leave you to draw up a proper letter for her Majesty conformable to our ideas subsequent to your arrival there. The mode and time of effecting its reception by the Queen must likewise be submitted to your own judgment. But every possible precaution should be adopted to prevent suspicion. In particular, beware of the Princess of Brunswick, who, though sister to the Queen, is attached to the interests of the family with which she is allied by marriage. Her husband's aunt, Juliana Maria, Queen Dowager of Denmark, now governs that country in conjunction with her son, Prince Frederick. The only credentials which I can venture to give you are the impression in wax of a seal, but the instant that her Majesty sees it, she will know that you are come from me, and she will lend implicit confidence to all you lay before her. If she consents to co-operate with us, she will of course endeavour to interest her brother in the cause. Without his approbation, if not his aid, we cannot long maintain, though we may effect, a revolution. These points constitute the outline of your instructions, but in a negotiation of such difficulty as well as peril, much of the execution must depend on circumstances and your own discretion."

Having at length in repeated conferences matured all our ideas, and having likewise calculated the time which my mission would require, as well as fixed the day, hour, and place when and where I

should meet the Baron on my return to Hamburgh, I prepared for my departure. Taking the direct road to Zell, instead of that leading through Bremen, by which I had arrived at Hamburgh, I reached my destination on the morning of the 9th of October, and learned as soon as I alighted from the carriage, not without concern, that the hereditary Princess of Brunswick was then on a visit to her sister. Having nevertheless written to the Baron de Seckendorf, one of the Queen's chamberlains, through whom all presentations were made to her, I acquainted him that as I was on my return to England by Hanover, I had been charged by Mr. Mathias with a letter for her Majesty. I received soon afterwards, as I had anticipated would probably happen, an invitation to dine at court on the same day. No sooner had I accomplished this first object than I drew up a letter to the Queen, in which I briefly but accurately enumerated all the particulars which have been already stated in the present narrative. The names of the two principal persons by whom I was deputed to wait on her and the credential intrusted to me I reserved till I should receive her answer. One very embarrassing circumstance yet remained. The etiquette of the court of Zell was, that all strangers who had the honour of being admitted to the royal table were received by her Majesty in her drawing-room a short time before dinner. When the ladies and gentlemen who composed her household had assembled, the Queen repaired thither, the persons present forming a small circle till dinner was announced. In this circle, with the eyes of so many individuals directed towards me, among whom, as I knew, would be the Princess of Brunswick, I must of necessity present my letter. Its contents might agitate the Queen, perhaps so powerfully, as to

excite an emotion in her manner or countenance capable of betraying the nature of my errand. In order to obviate such a disaster, I adopted therefore the following expedient.

After drawing up my letter, I wrote on a sheet of paper, so placed that she must of necessity cast her eye upon it before she could peruse any other part of the enclosure, these or nearly these words: "As the contents of the present letter regard your Majesty's highest and dearest interests, and as the slightest indication or suspicion of its nature might prove fatal to its object, it is earnestly entreated that your Majesty will be pleased to reserve the perusal till you are alone. It is particularly incumbent to conceal it from her Royal Highness the Princess of Brunswick, who will be present at its reception." When I had finished all my preparations, I repaired in a sedan-chair to the castle at half-past one, as the Queen sat down at two to table. The company, consisting of ten or more persons of both sexes, were already met, and in a few minutes her Majesty, accompanied by her sister, entered the apartment. She advanced with a quick step towards me, and holding out her hand, "I am glad to see you here again," said she; "I understand that you have a letter for me from Mr. Mathias." "I have, madame," answered I, "which he wished me to deliver to your Majesty. I believe it regards the company of comedians who are preparing to arrive here." At the same time I presented it, and the Queen instantly withdrew to one of the windows a few paces distant in order to peruse it. The Princess of Brunswick then accosted me, asking a variety of questions relative to Hamburgh. I contrived to answer them, though my attention was internally directed towards the Queen, who, after reading the lines prefixed, hastily put the

letter into her pocket. She then rejoined us,—for I was standing out of the circle engaged in conversation with her sister,—and attempted to mix in the discourse. But her face had become of a scarlet colour, and she manifested so much discomposure, that I felt no little uneasiness lest it should excite remark. Fortunately at that moment dinner was announced, and we followed the two princesses into the eating-room. The whole transaction did not last more than five or six minutes from its commencement to its close. The Queen and Princess were always seated at dinner in two splendid arm-chairs towards the middle of one of the long sides of the table, separated by a space of nearly two feet from each other. I was placed opposite to them. During the repast her Majesty soon recovered her gaiety and presence of mind, keeping me in continual conversation, as did the Princess. But no sooner was the dessert served than the former, pushing back her chair, drew out my letter, and holding it in her lap, read it from beginning to end, raising her head from time to time, uttering a few words, and then resuming her occupation. This act of imprudent curiosity and impatience naturally alarmed me. However, we soon repaired again to the drawing-room, where the royal sisters having taken coffee while the company stood round, afterwards retired. I returned to the inn and waited till I should hear from the Queen.

Scarcely had night closed in when the Baron de Seckendorf arrived. "I am sent," said he, "by her Majesty, who has been pleased to select me as a person entirely devoted to her service, and whom she has intrusted with the secret of your letter. She enjoins me to assure you that she has perused it with the strongest emotions; that she is fully disposed to believe every word which it contains, and

not less ardently impelled by duty as well as by inclination to comply with its requisitions. Most willingly would she grant you an audience this very night, but the attempt while her sister is in the castle would be attended with too much hazard, if not with certain discovery. She therefore desires you to deliver to me the credential which you have brought with you, and to communicate to me the names of the two individuals by whom you have been deputed to address her. She will transmit you, through me, her answer without delay, well knowing how improper it would be to detain you here, and how many suspicions it would occasion." Thus authorised, I without hesitation gave the Baron the proofs demanded. On my part I made two requests to her Majesty: first, that she would return me the letter which I had addressed to her, in order that by putting it into the Baron de Bulow's hands, he might be satisfied that I had thoroughly comprehended, and faithfully as well as accurately conveyed, the important message confided to me; secondly, that as circumstances precluded me from being admitted to an interview with her, she would send me some credential, which, like the impression of Bulow's seal, might testify her full consent and approbation to the project for her restoration. On the following day Seckendorf brought me an explicit verbal reply on her part to the propositions which I had made, declaring that she was not only ready to co-operate with the Danish nobility in every effort for effecting the object in question, but would, whenever it should be thought advisable, address her brother, his Britannic Majesty, to entreat his powerful support. At the same time he delivered into my hand the impression of a seal affixed by herself, bearing the initials of her name, Caroline Matilda, together with a superscription in her own handwriting, both which tes-

timonials the Baron de Bulow would recognise whenever they were submitted to his inspection. She added her anxious wishes for my speedy return, using proper precautions to conceal my next arrival at Zell. Lastly, Seckendorf restored to me the letter which I had addressed to the Queen.

Having thus accomplished all the practicable objects of my mission, I set out immediately for Hanover. Then taking a cross road through an unfrequented part of the Electorate, I arrived on the southern bank of the Elbe, and passed over from Harburg to the city of Hamburgh. On the day previously settled with the Baron de Bulow, I went to the place of rendezvous, a public walk in the most populous quarter of the town. I had not been there more than a few minutes when I perceived him. As soon as he saw me he turned, and I followed him through a number of streets till we mounted the ramparts. Having reached a remote bastion, he stopped, embraced me, and demanded news of my success. I minutely recounted every particular, concluding with the credential delivered me by Seckendorf from the Queen, which I presented him. He instantly knew her superscription as well as cypher. After a long conversation we parted, but not till we had fixed on another meeting, at which it was finally determined that I should return a third time to Zell. "My associates," said Bulow, "to whom I have communicated the results of your late visit, are perfectly satisfied with every part of the negotiation. But before we can with prudence proceed to effect the projected revolution, it is indispensable that we should receive the approbation, and if possible the aid, of his Britannic Majesty. We trust that the Queen will dispatch you as her agent to England, and will support with all her exertions the application to her brother. Without

that co-operation we shall want our best guarantee for the permanence of our success. Our means are fully adequate to produce the change in the Government, and to place the Queen Caroline Matilda at its head. Besides our numerous and powerful friends in Copenhagen, we have the Viceroy of Norway in our interests, and the two governors of Gluckstadt and Rendsburg, which cities constitute the keys of Holstein and Schleswig. We want only the name and protection of George III. to secure us from every possible reaction."

Feeling strongly the justice of Bulow's opinions, I instantly prepared to set out anew for my former destination. In conformity to his ideas, I sketched the outline of another letter to the Queen, but so ambiguously drawn up as to be wholly unintelligible, in case that any accident should befall me on my journey. Previous to my departure, the Baron, whom it deeply imported to know from my own mouth after quitting Zell every circumstance attending my reception, and the part which her Majesty would take in facilitating the enterprise, determined, at whatever personal risk, to meet me before I should quit Germany on my way to England. But as my return a third time to Hamburgh must have been most imprudent, if not dangerous, we adopted another plan. On the road between that city and Zell about midway stood a solitary post-house called Zahrendorf, in a wood of the same name. No place could be better chosen for our interview, its situation precluding all probability of discovery or interruption. Having therefore calculated the time requisite for my mission with as much accuracy as possible, we fixed on Zahrendorf for our rendezvous, agreeing that he who arrived first should wait the appearance of the other.

My arrangements being now completed, I com-

menced my third visit to Zell; but apprehensive of exciting observation if I should be seen so frequently to take the same road, I made a circuit by the city of Lunenburg. Arriving in the middle of the night at Zell on the 24th of October, I gave a French name to the sentinel at the gate, describing myself as a merchant. Then proceeding round the walls, I drove, not as before, to the great inn in the principal street of the place, but to an obscure public-house, situate in the suburb of Hanover, denominated the "Sand Krug." The Baron de Seckendorf having gone on the preceding day to Hanover, I dispatched an express to hasten his return. I learned, however, with no small satisfaction, that the Princess of Brunswick was not at Zell, and before I awoke on the ensuing morning, Seckendorf presented himself at my bedside. I delivered him the letter which I had drawn up for the Queen, communicating to her the wishes and opinions of the Danish nobility engaged in her cause. Scarcely four hours afterwards Seckendorf came again to me. "The Queen," said he, "having thoroughly weighed the contents of your dispatch, is determined to see you without delay. Her sister's absence favours her design. Go instantly to the 'Jardin Français,' not distant from hence. In the centre stands a small pavilion. Her Majesty, attended only by one lady, who is wholly devoted to her interests, will be there in a very short time. You may then converse unreservedly upon every point." I followed his directions, and had not been more than ten minutes in the pavilion, when I saw the royal coach drive up to the garden gate. The Queen alighting, sent it away, together with her domestics, but the weather being fine, she preferred walking rather than remaining in the pavilion. She then entered on business, having first assured me that she could rely on the

fidelity of her attendant, while, as she was entirely ignorant of the English language, her presence would not interpose any restraint on our conversation.

"I was," proceeded she, "perfectly prepared for the contents of your letter, and I am ready to comply with every demand made in it. To the King my brother I will write in the most pressing terms, laying before him the plan for my restoration, expressing at the same time my conviction of its solidity, and urging him to contribute towards its success, not only by his consent and approbation, but, if necessary, by extending to it pecuniary assistance. I trust his Britannic Majesty will receive you graciously, and admit you to his presence. But as there must be intermediate persons to whom the negotiation will necessarily be committed, I shall address letters to two noblemen in London. The first is the Earl of Suffolk, who, besides that he fills the post of Secretary for the Foreign Department, has always shown me distinguishing marks of attention. He is the only member of the Cabinet from whom I have received any such proofs of regard. I have no doubt that he will give you a favourable reception. But I shall likewise write to another individual, who is at this time in England and warmly devoted to my interests. I mean, the Baron de Lichtenstein, marshal of the court of Hanover. He enjoys not only the King's personal favour, but is admitted constantly to the private parties at the Queen's house, which afford him facilities of approaching his Majesty not open to any of the Ministers. Nevertheless, I shall not disclose the affair either to Lord Suffolk or to Lichtenstein, simply stating to each that you will wait on them from me, on a matter of consequence, adding that they may give implicit confidence to every fact which you shall lay before them in my name and on my behalf.

As, however, the composition of my letter to the King demands time and consideration, being likewise well aware of the danger which may arise from your remaining here, I have resolved on not detaining you. My three letters shall be transmitted to England by the regular Hanoverian courier in the course of a few days, and on your arrival in London you will find the ground prepared for your appearance. Assure the Baron de Bulow, when you meet him at Zahrendorf, that I will exert every effort to accelerate the happy conclusion of the enterprise." The Queen finished by giving me some secret instructions, in case of my being admitted to an audience of George III. She then allowed me to withdraw. Our conversation, which lasted about an hour, impressed me with a strong conviction of her capacity.

Returning to the inn, I prepared for my departure as soon as night should allow me to quit Zell, and I got to Zahrendorf at one in the afternoon on the following day. The Baron de Bulow was not arrived, and I patiently waited therefore his appearance. About four o'clock he came, wrapped up in a cloak which concealed his person, alone on a common post-waggon. According to our preconcerted agreement, he inquired if there were any travellers in the post-house; and the master acquainting him that a person was above-stairs, he sent up a compliment requesting leave to join my company. We remained together till one on the ensuing morning, when he quitted me and returned to Altona by the same conveyance. I pursued my journey soon after daylight, and from the town of Nienburg, which I reached in twenty-four hours, I wrote by the post under Seckendorf's cover to her Majesty, informing her of Bulow's satisfaction at the measures adopted by her. I then took the road of Osnaburg and

Munster, continued my route through Cleves to Nimeguen, and descended the river Maese to Rotterdam. It was not till the 15th of November that I arrived in London.

Next morning, having repaired to Lord Suffolk's residence in Downing Street, his private secretary acquainted me that his Lordship being then confined by a severe fit of the gout, unless my business admitted of communication through a third person, I must defer it till the Secretary of State should be able to grant me an interview. I therefore proceeded immediately to the Baron de Lichtenstein's lodgings in Chidleigh Court, Pall Mall. He received me with great cordiality. "The Queen of Denmark," said he, "has written to me, and refers me in her letter entirely to you for information upon every point, but the King has been pleased to communicate to me her Majesty's dispatch to himself, which renders me master of the whole affair. It is one of no slight importance, and will require mature consideration. Meanwhile I will inform his Majesty of your arrival. As he permits me to form one of his small evening circle, I enjoy the means of laying before him many matters, and of receiving his orders. Be assured of my zeal in every particular which can affect the honour or the interests of the Queen Matilda." At our next meeting, which took place a few days afterwards, he delivered me the King's commands. "His Majesty," said Lichtenstein, "having considered the nature and delicacy of the mission intrusted to you, enjoins you not to return to Lord Suffolk. The business must be managed and negotiated exclusively through me. Nor will the King admit you to any personal audience, because though all cordiality has ceased between him and the Danish Court or Government ever since his sister's arrest, yet as the relations of

peace and amity still subsist between the two crowns, he wishes to retain the power of denying, in case of any unforeseen accident, that he has seen or received an agent sent for the purpose of effecting her restoration. But it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should transmit to him through me a full and minute account on paper of the whole transaction. He will then be better enabled to form a judgment on the part which it may become him ultimately to take in it. I shall write to her Majesty on the subject, and exhort her to patience. You ought to do the same, both to her and to her friends in Denmark. Time must be allowed for deliberation."

In consequence of Lichtenstein's directions, I drew up a narrative of the business, which he delivered to the King; and I wrote both to Seckendorf and to Bulow in the spirit that the Baron had indicated. Great impatience was nevertheless displayed in the replies made me from Zell, as well as from Altona. Lichtenstein meanwhile continued the negotiation at the Queen's House, though with so little apparent progress that I more than once despaired of a successful issue, his Majesty expressing an insuperable reluctance to commit himself by any act which, if it became known, could be construed as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the Courts of London and Copenhagen. Towards the middle of January 1775 the affair, however, assumed a more auspicious aspect, and on the 3d of the following month the Baron delivered to me in Chidleigh Court a paper containing four articles. They were drawn up in French by the King's permission and with his sanction.

By the first, his Majesty declared that the attempt to restore the Queen his sister to the throne of Denmark had his approbation and consent, only annexing to it a stipulation that in case of its successful issue,

no act of severity should be exercised against any of the individuals who were actually in possession of power. They were simply to be ordered to retire to their respective palaces or places of residence. By the second, his Majesty promised that as soon as the revolution was effected his Minister at Copenhagen should be directed to declare that it had been done with his co-operation. By the third, though he refused to make any pecuniary advances for facilitating the enterprise, yet he guaranteed the repayment of such sums as should necessarily be expended in procuring the Queen Caroline Matilda's return to Denmark. By the fourth, he engaged that when the revolution should be completed, he would maintain it if requisite by the forces of Great Britain.

This paper the Baron de Lichtenstein signed, and having enclosed it in a cover, sealed the packet with his coat-of-arms. I was then directed to carry it, first to the Queen at Zell, who would instantly recognise his signature and seal. Her Majesty was empowered to open and peruse the articles, after which they were to be sealed up anew by her, and committed to my care. Finally, I was commissioned to convey them to the Baron de Bulow at Altona.

Having received this deposit, I left London on the same night for Harwich, landed on the 6th of February at Helvoetsluys, and pursuing my journey with as little delay as the inclemency of the season admitted by the straight road to Hanover, I reached Deventer without much impediment. But here my difficulties commenced. On Sunday morning the 12th of February at daybreak, I got to the bank of the little river Dinckel, which there separates Westphalia from the Dutch dominions. In a wretched hut, where men, women, oxen, and pigs were all crowded together, and in which no sustenance was

to be procured, I found the royal Hanoverian courier, stopped on his way from England towards the electoral capital. He had been detained above forty hours by the inundation of the Dinckel, which from a rivulet had become, in consequence of the late incessant rains, a most formidable flood. He dissuaded me from attempting to cross it, but the landlord offering to mount one of the four horses that drew the carriage, and assuring me that the deep part of the river did not exceed twelve or fourteen paces, where the horses must swim, I determined to risk the passage. Every precaution being taken, we drove off from the inn about noon. I got into the carriage, put my dispatches into my bosom, and we plunged into the stream. The violence of the current had much subsided in consequence of the suspension of the rain. In less than a minute the danger was over, and we touched the ground. I soon arrived at Bentheim. Nevertheless I was overturned on the same night not far from the town of Rheine, in the bishopric of Munster, and compelled to return for shelter to that place, but I escaped without injury, though one of the glasses of my carriage was broken by the shock. Still greater obstacles awaited me beyond Osnaburg, at the river Weser, which was swelled to a prodigious size. The country on every side presented the appearance of a deluge. My carriage being, however, placed in a boat, I passed over in about an hour and a half. After encountering great inconvenience, peril, and delay, I got to Hanover on the 16th of February, and the succeeding night I arrived at Zell. In traversing Europe from the frontiers of Lapland to Naples, I never underwent any dangers or fatigues which could enter into comparison with those that attended me while carrying my dispatches to Caroline Matilda.

On the ensuing morning I acquainted Seckendorf that I was returned to my concealment at the inn in the suburbs. He received me with testimonies of joy, and assured me that the Queen's impatience to converse with me on the subject of my mission to England would not allow her to postpone it beyond the same afternoon. The Princess of Brunswick being happily absent, left her mistress of her actions. She had in her service a valet de chambre named Mantel, a German, of approved fidelity, to whom was intrusted the commission of conducting me to her. I delivered to the Baron the packet confided to my care by Lichtenstein, which he carried to her Majesty. According to the directions given me by Seckendorf, I quitted the "Sand Krug" on hearing the castle clock strike the hour of four, wrapped in my great coat, and walked to the drawbridge. In the great quadrangle I found Mantel. He led me nearly round the castle, through private passages, and opening the door of a room into which he admitted me, he left me alone. It was a spacious apartment, the windows of which commanded a view over the gardens of the castle; and I had scarcely leisure to cast my eye round when the Queen entered without any attendant. My interview with her lasted till near a quarter past six, during all which time we stood in the embrasure of one of the windows. As I had then an opportunity of closely examining her countenance and person, it being broad daylight, I shall add a few words on that subject, though I have elsewhere described her. Her charms consisted principally in her youth and embonpoint. Like the King, her brother, she betrayed a hurry in her articulation when agitated or eager, but which peculiarity rather augmented than diminished her attractions. Her manners were very ingratiating, noble, yet calculated to win those who

approached her. Indeed, towards me, who was engaged at the hazard of my life in endeavours to replace her on the throne, it was natural that she should express much goodwill and condescension. I say to replace her on the throne, because it was not merely the crown-matrimonial to which she would have been restored. Christian VII. being in a state of hopeless imbecility, it necessarily followed that if she returned to Denmark she must have been invested with the supreme authority as Regent during her son's minority.

The Queen began our conversation by lamenting that her brother had not admitted me to an audience, as it might have afforded me the occasion of stating to him facts and circumstances which could never be so well related or impressed by the pen. Nor did she express less concern at his refusing to support her cause and aid her return to Copenhagen with immediate pecuniary assistance. She hoped, however, that the other stipulations which I had brought from England might satisfy the party engaged in her interests. With great animation she assured me that no sentiment of revenge or enmity towards the Queen Dowager, Prince Frederick, or any of the individuals who had arrested and imprisoned her, would ever actuate her conduct. The mention of their names naturally led her to speak of the memorable night, the 15th of January 1772, when she fell a victim to her imprudence and want of precaution. I would have avoided such a topic for obvious reasons, but she entered on it with so much determination that I could only listen while she recounted to me all the extraordinary occurrences which befell her, not omitting names and particulars respecting herself of the most private nature. I am, however, far from meaning that she made any disclosure unbecoming a woman of honour

and delicacy. Soon after six she prepared to leave me, as her absence, she said, might excite inquiry. Mantel then returned and conducted me to a chamber in a distant part of the castle. There I remained till night closed in, when he led me to a private staircase, by which I descended into the great court, and got back undiscovered to my quarters.

Having received from Seckendorf on the following day the packet which I had brought over from England, enclosed by the Queen in a second cover and sealed with her cypher, I set off for Hamburgh, the country being still inundated on every side. I reached that city nevertheless on the 21st of February, but, on account of the precautions necessary to be adopted, Bulow and I did not meet before the 23d, when I delivered him the articles, which he perused several times, not without some expression of disappointment. "They must, however," said he, "be transmitted to our friends at Copenhagen with as little delay as possible, and we must wait their reply." At our next interview, having acquainted me with the difficulty which occurred of finding a person to whom such a commission could be safely confided, I offered instantly to undertake it—an offer that unquestionably evinced more zeal than prudence. Bulow accepted my proposal, but, on consulting his associates, they observed that the reappearance of an Englishman in the Danish capital who had visited it scarcely ten months antecedently, and whose stay at Hamburgh must be matter of notoriety, would inevitably expose the whole attempt to danger of discovery. The intention was therefore laid aside, and another individual, a gentleman whose name was never imparted to me, repaired to Copenhagen, carrying with him a copy of Lichtenstein's paper. I remained at Hamburgh till his

return, which took place on the 14th of March, without his experiencing any accident, and Bulow then imparted to me the sentiments of his friends respecting the articles which I had brought from London.

With the first and the fourth they expressed the utmost satisfaction. Nor did they complain of the third, though they regretted that the King would not contribute by any present donation of money to facilitate his sister's restoration. But against the second article they protested as only holding out to them a support of which, when extended, they should no longer stand in need. "We are quite powerful enough," said they, "to effect the proposed revolution, but we may not possess sufficient force to maintain it. The King only promises that his Minister shall declare the attempt to have been undertaken with his sovereign's co-operation after it has been successfully performed. Now, we want the declaration to be made at the time that it is carrying into execution. For when we arrest the Queen Dowager, her son, and the principal members of the Government, all Copenhagen will direct their eyes towards the hotel of the English Minister. If he shuts his gates and takes no part whatever, the Ministerial adherents will infer that his master neither knows of nor participates in the success of the enterprise. They may rally and resume the ascendant. But if, while we occupy the royal palace, the British diplomatic agent goes openly to court, announces that the whole proceeding has the sanction of his Britannic Majesty, and declares that he will maintain it, all opposition must cease from that instant. It is therefore indispensable to make new exertions in London for obtaining the acquiescence of the King in our present demand."

There was likewise one other concession which

it seemed essential to secure before they proceeded to strike the blow. And this last point regarded, not the King of England, but the Queen Matilda. Her personal appearance at Copenhagen as expeditiously as possible after her adherents should have changed the Government would unquestionably operate powerfully to confirm the new order of things. During the summer months the Queen, who was young and active, might arrive in five days from Zell in the capital of Denmark, unless very unexpected impediments prevented her from crossing the Great Belt, which separates the two islands of Zealand and Funen. It could not admit of a doubt that her presence must contribute to repress any attempt at overturning the revolution effected in her favour. But would she trust her life a second time among those enemies from whom her brother had with difficulty rescued her, and that, too, before her friends could be considered as wholly secure from the danger of counter-action? In order to obtain these two assurances, one from his Britannic Majesty, the other from the Queen, I therefore prepared again to revisit Zell and London. Before, however, I set out, Bulow drew up a letter addressed to the King in the names of all the nobility engaged in the undertaking, demonstrating the expediency, if not the necessity, of authorising his Minister at Copenhagen to come forward without delay at the time when his sister's party should render themselves masters of the Government. Bulow wrote likewise to the Queen entreating her to sustain with all her exertions the request made to her brother, and stating the importance of her personally repairing to the scene of action by the quickest mode of conveyance the instant she should be apprised by them of their success.

Furnished with these credentials, I once more

left Hamburgh on Tuesday the 21st of March, and arrived the ensuing night at Zell, concealing myself, as before, in the suburbs. Anticipating my return as probable, I had settled with Seckendorf the name that I would give in at the gate, by which means the Queen, who ordered the list of all travellers to be brought her every morning, became apprised of my approach before I announced it to the Baron. She immediately sent Mantel to acquaint me that her sister was then in the castle, and would not return to Brunswick till the ensuing Saturday. Her Majesty therefore laid her injunctions on me to keep myself concealed, adding that as soon as the Princess should quit Zell she would immediately admit me to her presence. Having transmitted to her Bulow's letter, I consequently waited her commands. But on the subsequent morning it was determined that I should be introduced into the castle on the same night. As this was my last interview with that Princess, I shall relate minutely the particulars.

I set out before eight, at which hour Mantel engaged to meet me. The weather was most tempestuous, accompanied with rain, and such darkness as rendered it difficult to discern any object. When I got to the drawbridge, no valet appeared, and a few moments afterwards, the guard being relieved, passed close to me. Wrapped in my greatcoat, I waited, not without considerable anxiety. At length Mantel arrived. He said not a word, but covering me all over with his large German cloak and holding an umbrella over our heads, he led me in silence through the arch into the area of the castle, from whence he conducted me to the Queen's library. There he left me, exhorting me to patience, it being uncertain at what hour her Majesty would quit her company. The room was lighted up and the book-

cases opened. In about thirty minutes the Queen entered the apartment. She was elegantly dressed in crimson satin, and either had, or impressed me as having, an air of majesty mingled with condescension, altogether unlike an ordinary woman of condition. Our interview lasted nearly two hours. She assured me that she would write the letter demanded by the Danish nobility to her brother before she retired to rest, and would urge in the most pressing terms a compliance with the request made to him by Bulow in the name of his party. "As to the question which he puts to me," added she, "whether I would be ready to set out for Copenhagen on the first intimation of their success, assure him that I am disposed to share every hazard with my friends, and to quit this place at the shortest notice. But he must remember that I am not mistress of my own actions. I live here under the King of England's protection, in his castle, and in his dominions. I cannot leave Zell without his consent and approbation. To obtain that permission shall form one of the principal objects of my letter to him." She then mentioned to me, for the first time, a circumstance which gave her much concern, as she apprehended it might retard, or wholly impede, the success of my negotiation in London. "The Baron de Lichtenstein," said the Queen, "informs me that he is about to quit England on his return to Hanover. I fear he may be gone before you arrive. His absence must be injurious to my interests, as, besides his attachment to me, his access to the King gave him opportunities of aiding my cause which no other individual enjoys or can supply. I shall nevertheless write to him, and he has promised me that in case of his departure before you reach London, he will take care to leave instructions for regulating your conduct."

These material points being settled, our conversation took a wider range, and as her Majesty manifested no disposition to terminate it, we remained together till near eleven, when I ventured to ask her if it was her pleasure that I should retire. She acquiesced, having first enjoined me to keep her constantly as well as minutely informed upon every occurrence that arose, though she hoped that my absence would be of short duration. When ready to leave me, she opened the door, but retained it a minute in her hand, as if willing to protract her stay. She never perhaps looked more engaging than on that night, in that attitude, and in that dress. Her countenance, animated with the prospect of her approaching emancipation from Zell (which was in fact only a refuge and an exile), and anticipating her restoration to the throne of Denmark, was lighted up with smiles, and she appeared to be in the highest health. Yet if futurity could have been unveiled to us, we should have seen behind the door which she held in her hand the "fell anatomy," as *Constance* calls him, already raising his dart to strike her. Within seven weeks from that day she yielded her last breath. As soon as the Queen left me Mantel came again, and wrapping me up as before, conducted me out of the castle, after which he led me by unfrequented ways back to my obscure inn. The darkness and the weather greatly favoured me. Next day I received from Seckendorf her Majesty's letter for the King, her brother. Having completed every object of my mission, after writing to the Baron de Bulow, and acquainting him with all the particulars of my interview with the Queen, I began my journey to England. Westphalia no longer presented the same impediments. Taking the direct road through Holland, and travelling with expedition, I reached

Helvoetsluys on the 1st day of April. Embarking immediately, though I was forty-eight hours on my passage, I got to London on the 5th of that month, 1775.

My earliest visit was paid to Chidleigh Court, Pall Mall; but the Baron de Lichtenstein had already quitted England on his way to Hanover, an event which might justly be regarded as most unpropitious to the speedy success of the enterprise. He had, however, left a letter for me, in which, while he expressed his regret at the necessity of his departure, he acquainted me that it was his Majesty's pleasure I should deliver my dispatches to Monsieur Hinuber, Chargé d'Affaires d'Hanovre, who would immediately convey them to the Queen's house. Hinuber, on whom I waited at his residence in Jermyn Street, confirmed this information, adding that he had received the King's commands to enclose whatever packets I might bring in a box, to seal it up, and to carry it immediately to him. Charged as I was, not only with a letter from Zell, but likewise with another from Altona, and thus acting under a double commission of the most serious description, I should perhaps have been justified in declining to obey the royal orders—at least as far as regarded the dispatch intrusted to me by the Baron de Bulow. I complied, nevertheless, with the requisition, and gave up both my packets to Hinuber; but I accompanied them with a letter which I addressed to his Majesty, acquainting him that as I was the depositary of many very important facts confided to me by his sister and by Bulow, which were not of a nature to be committed to paper, I ventured to hope that he would admit me to an audience in whatever way or manner might be most agreeable to him. I did not, however, indulge any sanguine expectation of success in my

application—first, because I well knew that the King had laid it down as a principle to reserve to himself the power of denying that he had ever seen or received an agent from the Queen Matilda; and secondly, because Lichtenstein, in the letter which he left to direct my conduct, had expressly prepared me for this refusal. "I must," said he, "warn you not to be surprised if you do not receive from him (George III.) an answer. It will be addressed to me at Hanover. Reasons with which you are well acquainted—namely, that he will give nothing under his hand touching this affair—allow of no other line of conduct."

Being thus situated, I waited till the 21st of April, when Hinuber having informed me that he had not received any orders from his Majesty respecting me, I wrote to the Queen, to Seckendorf, and to Bulow. In my letters I detailed every fact here related, requesting to know from the last-mentioned nobleman whether he and his friends would wish me to return to Germany, or remain in London and renew my applications through Hinuber to the King. His reply, dated the 2d of May, reached me on the 10th of that month. It stated that every preparation for the projected enterprise was advancing, that he lamented the silence hitherto observed towards me, but that he besought me in the names of all the party to remain where I was and wait for his next dispatch. On Friday the 19th of May, as I was entering my lodgings in Jermyn Street, my servant, who daily expected me to set out again for Germany, asked me whether I had heard "that the Queen was dead." Conceiving him to mean our own Queen, I replied in the negative, but he soon undeceived me by explaining that he spoke of Caroline Matilda. The intelligence was fully confirmed to me a few minutes afterwards, with the additional information

that the King, her brother, having received the account by a messenger sent from Zell while he was on horseback, had manifested strong marks of concern, and returned instantly to the Queen's House. It was not till the 25th of May that the post brought me a letter from Seckendorf conveying the lamentable particulars of the same event. He subjoined a fact of no ordinary interest—that his Majesty had returned an answer to his sister's letter brought over by me. It was sent by the Hanoverian courier under cover to Lichtenstein, as that nobleman warned me would happen. He forwarded it without delay to her Majesty, but she being then at the last extremity, it was never opened, and Lichtenstein transmitted it, with the seal unbroken, back to George III. Its contents have ever remained unknown. I cannot venture to hazard any decided conjecture on the subject, though I incline to believe that the reply was favourable. At length, on the 1st day of June, I received a letter from Bulow. Despair and consternation characterised every line. But, like Seckendorf's, it contained a circumstance highly interesting, namely, that at the very moment when the catastrophe was announced to him from Zell, he and the young Baron de Schimmelman were actually occupied in fixing the time, manner, and every particular requisite for carrying into prompt execution the projected plan, notwithstanding his Britannic Majesty's silence.

Thus abruptly and unexpectedly terminated an enterprise which, as far as human foresight can enable us to predict, must have been crowned with success, and which, if successful, must have effected an important change in the political aspect of the North of Europe. That it would not have been disgraced and polluted with any of those sanguinary acts which characterised the revolution of January

1772, I may confidently assert. The express stipulation of George III., and the placable character of the Queen, his sister, form guarantees upon that point. That it would have been consummated without difficulty and almost without resistance, cannot admit of a doubt. In the spring of 1784, the same attempt, made by the same individuals or their survivors, was carried into complete effect without bloodshed, and the young Prince Royal, then only sixteen years of age, was invested with the powers of Regent, as his mother would have been in 1775. That the restoration of Caroline Matilda must have produced most beneficial public consequences to Denmark by reviving the ancient, hereditary, natural connection between that country and England, is incontestable. Juliana Maria, the Queen Dowager, and her son, Prince Frederick, possessed neither capacity nor vigour, and they had lost the friendship of Great Britain. Caroline Matilda united considerable energy of character with firmness, and she wanted not judgment. But youth, power, flattery, and inexperience had overturned her. Those persons who severely condemn her conduct while in Denmark forget that she was married at sixteen to a most imbecile, dissolute prince, and precipitated from the throne at the age of twenty years and six months. I pretend not to justify her conduct with respect to Struensee, either in a prudential or in a moral point of view. For though I honoured the Queen, I honour truth far above all queens, and whatever faults are found in these Memoirs, the violation or suppression of truth never will be among the number. But we must not measure sovereigns precisely by the same principles which apply to individuals. Catherine II. is tried by her reign, not by her life; by her administration more than by her private deportment as a woman. Caroline Matilda,

though she did not, like Catherine, exercise the sovereign authority, may claim from posterity hardly less indulgence.

Even the modern history of Denmark, including the events that took place during the late revolutionary war—and consequently the destiny of Europe—has been affected by the consequences that flowed from the imprisonment and exile of Caroline Matilda, followed by her premature death; for her brother, George III., imbibed so rooted a dislike to the Danish royal family and alliance, that he would never listen to any proposition for renewing the connection by marriage with the House of Oldenburg. I know that the present King, Frederick VI., when Prince Regent, made, between 1787 and 1789, repeated efforts to obtain the hand of an English princess, leaving the selection to his Britannic Majesty in a great degree. Conversing on this subject in March 1791 with Hugh Elliott, who was then in London on leave of absence, but who filled the post of envoy from Great Britain at the court of Copenhagen, he assured me that he had twice proposed, by desire of the prince, his union with a daughter of England, but the King instantly rejected the overture. The heir of the Danish monarchy, thus refused, espoused in July 1790 the eldest daughter of Prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, by whom he has no male issue. Contrary to the true policy of Denmark, we find him joining with France at every period of his administration. Napoleon had not among his vassal kings a more determined ally, and that formidable chieftain, when, in 1806 and the following year, he planned the invasion of this country, relied with good reason on the navy of Christian VII., "to transport," as he threatened, "the vengeance of the Continent to our shores." Hence, we may assume, took place the sanguinary

naval engagement of Copenhagen in 1801. "Hoc fonte derivata clades." Hence, too, originated the siege and surrender of Copenhagen in 1807. Hence the loss of Norway in 1814, a kingdom which during successive centuries had been united to Denmark, but which is now transferred to the dominion of her ancient enemy, governed by one of Bonaparte's lieutenants, who occupies the throne of Gustavus Adolphus.[1] Such are the extraordinary facts which we have witnessed in our time—facts indirectly to be traced up to Caroline Matilda's death. Had she been restored to Denmark and filled the situation of Regent during her son's minority, we can scarcely suppose that her brother would have refused to cement the alliance between the two crowns by giving one of his daughters in marriage to the present King. Norway might at this hour have remained subject to him, and the Danish capital would never have been attacked or entered by an English army.

I shall subjoin a few words personal to myself respecting the Queen of Denmark. After her decease, Bulow, as representing the party which had been engaged in her cause, and Seckendorf, who having carried on the intercourse between her Majesty and me, witnessed my exertions in her service, joined in making to the Baron de Lichtenstein the most pressing solicitations in my behalf They entreated of him to recommend me to his Britannic Majesty for remuneration or employment and they did it in language so earnest, that even if Lichtenstein had not been of himself disposed to comply, he could not have evaded or refused to gratify their wishes. He was, however, I have reason to believe, most desirous of obtaining for

[1] General Jean Baptiste Julius Bernadotte, King of Sweden, as Charles XIV., born 1764, died 1844.—ED.

me some recompense. In fact, during the years 1775 and 1776 he wrote (as he assured me under his hand) repeatedly to the King in terms as strong as a Hanoverian subject could venture to use when addressing his sovereign. But no reply was given. I made likewise myself two applications in the course of those years to the King, which were delivered to him by persons of rank or of consideration, who had means of access to his private hours. I may now name them. They were Viscount Barrington[1] and Dr. William Hunter. He still observed, nevertheless, the same silence, and the whole transaction had long ceased to occupy my thoughts, when, in the last days of February 1781, nearly six years subsequent to the demise of Caroline Matilda, it most unexpectedly revived. In 1780 I came into Parliament, and some months afterwards, as I was seated nearly behind Lord North in the House of Commons, only a few members being present, and no important business in agitation, he suddenly turned round to me. Speaking in a low tone of voice so as not to be overheard, "Mr. Wraxall," said he, "I have received his Majesty's commands to see and talk to you. He informs me that you rendered very important services to the late Queen of Denmark, of which he has related to me the particulars. He is desirous of acknowledging them. We must have some conversation together on the subject. Can you come to me to Bushy Park, dine, and pass the day?" I waited on him there in June 1781, and was received by him in his cabinet alone. Having most patiently heard my account of the enterprise in which I engaged for the Queen Matilda's restoration, he asked me what remuneration I demanded. I answered, one thousand guineas

[1] William Wildman, second Viscount Barrington, born in 1717 and died 1st February 1793.—ED.

as a compensation for the expense which I had incurred in her Majesty's service, and an employment. He assured me that I should have both. Robinson, then Secretary to the Treasury, paid me the money soon afterwards, and I confidently believe that Lord North would have fulfilled his promise of employing me, or rather of giving me a place of considerable emolument, if his Administration had not terminated early in the following year, 1782. I now return from this long digression to the state of public affairs.

On my landing at Dover from Paris I received the intelligence of Lord Sackville's death. I lost in him a zealous friend. He would have appointed me Under-Secretary of State in July 1781, when a vacancy took place in his office, but Mr. Knox,[1] who principally conducted the business of that department, opposed my appointment. He said, not without some reason, that "he could no longer perform the duties of his employment if his colleague occupied a seat in Parliament, as the necessary attendance there must leave the whole weight and drudgery upon him." In 1784 Lord Sackville brought me into the House of Commons, leaving me equally free in my parliamentary capacity as he did his own son-in-law, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Medley, the two members for East Grinstead. His correspondence, which I enjoyed down to the close of his life, exhibits in every letter the acuteness of his intellect, the elevation of his mind, and the playful vivacity of his temper unsubdued by age. Nor does it less forcibly display that strong attachment to the King, cemented by recent marks of his favour, which always characterised Lord Sackville.

[1] William Knox, Under-Secretary of State. He was the author of several political pamphlets.—ED.

Writing to me from his seat at Drayton on the 27th of December 1783, one of the most critical moments which occurred during the long reign of his present Majesty, only eight days after Pitt had been placed at the head of the Treasury, and when the Coalition were masters of the House of Commons, he says, "Mr. Fox acts with much wisdom and parliamentary address in making his party dip as deep as possible in opposition before the adjournment. Every resolution that can embarrass and distress Ministry are so many securities given by his followers to him of their steadiness and attachment. The individuals who may wish to join those in power will not feel it an easy task to shake off their shackles. The Ministers should first attack those who have not attended, and if they can get a sufficient number at the next meeting of the House even to face the enemy, they may struggle through the session. But I own their success appears to me so doubtful, that those who consider only their own interest should be cautious how they engage in the present system. My earnest desire of showing every possible mark of duty and gratitude to the King would have induced me to have risked everything in support of his wishes, if personal injuries had not rendered it impracticable. And if he will promote a man to be Secretary of State without experience or abilities, how can he expect that such a servant will be acceptable to the public?" Lord Sackville's comments on the nomination of the Marquis of Carmarthen to the Foreign Department may appear severe, or may seem to have originated in private resentment. No doubt he retained a deep recollection of that nobleman's conduct in February 1782. But if we consider that Lord Carmarthen filled the employment which Lord Grenville, Fox, Earl Grey, Lord Hawkesbury,

Lord Castlereagh, and Canning have since successively occupied, and if we compare the extent of the Marquis's endowments or eloquence with the talents possessed by any one of those distinguished individuals, we shall probably incline to think that the extraordinary circumstances of the time, when the continuance of the new Administration in office appeared to be most precarious, rather than any real aptitude for the duties of such a station, elevated to it the Marquis of Carmarthen.

I have already mentioned in the "Memoirs of my Own Time," published in 1815, the journey to Drayton which, at Mr. Pitt's desire, I undertook on the 31st of December 1783 in order to induce Lord Sackville to support the new Administration, together with its successful result. In the first letter which I received from him after my return to London, dated Drayton, Saturday, the 10th January 1784, he says, "It is impossible to argue upon the event of Monday, as so much depends upon the secret manœuvres of Robinson. If the majorities are not great against Mr. Pitt, he will prevail at last; for then the King's firmness will be shown, and when understood, will have great weight. If I can form any judgment of my late master, he will give the fairest and most decided support to any Ministers of his own choosing. And if they do not abandon him, he never will forsake them." Among the peculiar features of Lord Sackville's intellectual formation was a quickness of perception which seemed at times to partake of prescience and intuition. Being likewise destitute of all reserve where secrecy was not demanded, he rarely declined answering any question put to him, and he was a stranger to circumlocution or evasion. In February 1784, when Pitt's eventual stability in office began to be evident, and his final triumph over the Coali-

tion almost certain, Lord Walsingham and I asked Lord Sackville, "How long will Pitt remain First Minister?" He looked up for two or three seconds, and then replied, "Five years." The accomplishment of this prediction, or rather opinion, proved ridiculously accurate; for in February 1789 Pitt in fact was out, and only the folly of his opponents, by furnishing him from week to week with new subjects of delay, had allowed time for the King's recovery from his great malady. Nor did Lord Sackville possess less candour than he manifested acuteness. The "Rolliad" did not spare him, among the individuals selected for satire or ridicule by the authors of that production. Addressing me from Drayton, on the 2d of January 1785, he observes, "The 'Rolliad' is indeed highly entertaining. We all admire it, and there is more wit, elegance, and humour in the composition than I could have conceived it possible even for Mr. Sheridan and his friends to have produced. Lord Walsingham has no reason to thank them for making him spring from so poor a stock." This remark applied to the lines in which, alluding to the members of Fox's East India Board, who are contrasted with those of Pitt's nomination, the "Rolliad" says—

> "Whate'er experience Gregory might boast,
> Say, is not Walsingham himself a host?
> His grateful countrymen, with joyful eyes,
> From Sackville's ashes see this phœnix rise,
> Perhaps, with all his master's talents blest,
> To save the East, as he subdued the West."

Lord Sackville, though not a man of letters, nor even inclined to literary pursuits, yet seemed to inherit his grandfather, Charles, Earl of Dorset's partiality for talents. As Hobbes wrote under the protection of the Earls of Devonshire at Chatsworth and at Hardwick, so Cumberland composed various

of his dramatic pieces under that nobleman's roof, either at Stonelands or at Drayton. I have myself assisted several times at the reading of his tragedies or comedies. "Cumberland," says Lord Sackville, in a letter addressed to me from Drayton, 26th October 1782, "is writing a new sort of tragedy in familiar dialogue instead of blank verse, for which, I conclude, he will be abused till he has a severe fit of the bile. Four acts are finished. The ladies have attended the reading of them, and say they are very moving. I declined the pleasure, because I fear I never can commend any performance equal to the expectation of the author. Such prose as you write I admire, because I understand it; but I have not genius sufficient for works of mere imagination." Near two years afterwards, on the 21st of October 1784, addressing me from the same place, he says, "Cumberland is writing, and indeed has finished, a new comedy, and I have seen it, and the dialogue is remarkably well. There was something in the characters, in the moral part of them, that I disliked, and I was in doubt whether I might venture to declare it. But as I cannot forbear speaking truth, out it came; and instead of being offended, he adopted the idea, and it is all to be altered according to my plan. Was I not a bold man to attack an author?" On the 2d of January 1785 he again writes me: "When Cumberland read his comedy here, the character of Dumps, which you commend, struck me as the least to be admired; but we said so much upon that subject that he promised to alter it."—"As I see 'The Natural Son' advertised for the remainder of the week, I am in hopes that the managers expect it will answer."[1] These passages

[1] This play was produced at Drury Lane, December 22, 1784. It was "acted about ten times," says Genest, who adds, "Lady Paragon was acted by Miss Farren in an exquisite style." Two years after,

of his correspondence with me, all written soon after his resignation of office, and when he was fast approaching his seventieth year, display the elasticity of his mind, while they as forcibly prove how little either the advance of age or the loss of employment had indisposed him for the tranquil pleasures of private life.

The last letter that I ever received from Lord Sackville is dated "Stonelands Lodge, 17th of July 1785," the day preceding his memorable speech in the House of Peers which terminated his public career. He was preparing for his journey to London when he wrote it, and he speaks in terms of the severest condemnation respecting Pitt's and Jenkinson's measure of the Irish propositions. "If we may believe," says he, "the newspapers, the factious part of Ireland wish to reject these very advantageous propositions, because they only administer a slow poison to us. The first dose, prepared by the Doctors Foster and Beresford, would have had an instant effect, and it is hard that they will not consent to reprieve us for a few years, that such old fellows as I am may not attend the execution. Mr. Pitt is young enough to live to see, and I hope to repent of, what his influence is imposing upon this great and flourishing country." There was not, probably, a nobleman in England who combined a more liberal economy with a hospitable and splendid establishment. He maintained three separate households, one in Pall Mall, another at Stonelands in Sussex, a family seat to which he was partial, where he had passed much of his youth, and which he rented of his nephew, the Duke of Dorset. He kept up a third at his magnificent place of Drayton in the county of Northampton. His table was ad-

Cumberland condensed it into four acts, but he could not make it a stock piece.—ED.

mirably served, and his house never wanted a select company of both sexes. Yet his income did not exceed £9000 or £10,000 a year; and when he went out of office he made no reduction whatever in his household, nor dismissed a single domestic. With him may justly be said to have become eclipsed the name of Sackville as a parliamentary beacon. The Duke of Dorset, his nephew, was only a pleasing, accomplished individual of very high rank, made for the ornament of a court, formed to grace a drawing-room, but destitute of talents for state affairs. He filled, however, during six years, without reproach, the post of ambassador to the court of Versailles. His only son perished at twenty-one in an Irish fox-chase; a mode of dying not the most glorious or distinguished, though two sons of William the Conqueror, one of whom was a king of England, terminated their lives in a similar occupation.

The present Duke of Dorset and his brother, Mr. Germaine, Lord Sackville's two sons, men by no means wanting talents, have nevertheless hitherto remained in a sort of political obscurity, better known at Newmarket or on Ascot Heath than at Westminster, on the turf or at the cockpit than in Parliament. Even the dukedom itself seems to be already deprived of its greatest ornament, and to be half extinguished by the loss of Knole, a mansion which was to the Sackvilles all which Blenheim is to the Churchills or Penshurst to the Sydneys, recalling a thousand images of past times and transactions. That venerable pile, where the Earls and Dukes of Dorset had resided in uninterrupted succession more than two centuries—a species of classic ground enriched with portraits of so many illustrious persons and so many historical monuments—it is highly probable will be transferred to the Earls of Delawar, in conse-

quence of a will which, whatever legal validity it may possess, militates against every feeling of justice or propriety. The very name of Sackville[1] appears to be near extinction, as far as appearances warrant us to assume, the present Duke of Dorset being unmarried, and Mr. Germaine without male issue, though both have long passed the zenith of life. It is, nevertheless, a name than which few if any more resplendent is to be found in our annals, raised to the peerage by Elizabeth in the person of Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, created Earls by James I. and dukes by George I., fertile in men distinguished for loyalty, courage, and protection of genius. In pronouncing the name of Charles, Earl of Dorset, whom his contemporaries compared with Tibullus, Mæcenas, Gallus, and Petronius, we see pass in review before us the shades of Waller, Dryden, Otway, Wycherley, Butler, Prior, and many other poets or men of eminent talents, foreigners as well as English, who shared the society and the bounty of that celebrated individual. Lord Sackville had not degenerated from him. Though Minden and America exposed him to popular clamour, yet posterity, I am persuaded, viewing him dispassionately, will rank him among the most eminent persons who performed a part on the great theatre of public life during the reigns of George II. and of his present Majesty.

About this time a person was appointed Secretary of Legation to the British envoy at Berlin, who displayed such eminent talents for negotiation, and acted so distinguished a part in the diplomatic line during the short period of his public service, as to deserve that I should enter into some details respecting him. The individual to whom I allude, Mr. Joseph Ewart, was the son of a Scottish clergy-

[1] Knole now belongs to Mortimer Sackville West, first Baron Sackville.—ED.

man at Dumfries, and brought up to the profession of surgery. With a view of improving himself, and at the same time of visiting the Continent, he accompanied one of his countrymen, Mr. Macdonald of Clanronald, in the year 1782, from England to Vienna. A quarrel arising between them while resident in the Austrian capital, Ewart quitted him, and our Minister at that court, Sir Robert Murray Keith, being in want of a secretary at the time, Ewart assisted him as such, but without being officially attached to the mission. About two years afterwards, in 1784, he consented to act in a similar capacity under Sir John Stepney, the English envoy at Berlin. Here he soon manifested extraordinary ability, which was attended with uncommon ardour of mind and a very irritable temper. Stepney being succeeded, in August 1785, by Lord Dalrymple, now Earl of Stair, Ewart continued in the same post under that nobleman, and after passing, as I have already mentioned, through the intermediate degree of Secretary of Legation, he was named, in 1788, envoy to the Prussian court. Placed on such a diplomatic eminence, to which his talents had conducted him with unexampled rapidity, he rendered himself master of the cabinet and councils of Frederick William II., which he governed or directed with a sort of absolute sway. Hertzberg, who was then First Minister, listened to his suggestions with implicit respect, and I have been assured that it is difficult to conceive or to credit the ascendancy attained by him over the sovereign and Administration of Prussia. His marriage with a lady of that country, Mademoiselle Wartensleben, augmented his influence, as it seemed in some measure to naturalise him with the people among whom he resided.

Catherine II., and her ally the Emperor Joseph, were at that time engaged in hostilities against the

Turks, which, though unsuccessful on the side of Hungary during more than one campaign, in consequence of Joseph's personal interference and presence in the field, menaced nevertheless the Ottoman empire with the loss of her finest provinces on the coast of the Black Sea. Ockzakow had already fallen into the Empress's possession. Ewart not only stimulated the King and Ministers of Prussia to compel from her the restoration of so valuable a place, but he set on foot the great confederacy of England, Holland, Prussia, and Turkey, for the avowed purpose of arresting her further conquests. The death of Joseph II., which took place in February 1790, facilitated the accomplishment of Ewart's plans, while it deprived Catherine of her best support. Leopold, who succeeded to his brother's dominions, adopted a pacific and healing policy, the first fruit of which was the treaty of Reichenbach, concluded between him and Frederick William. Ewart performed the principal part in it, and was personally present at its signature. His detestation of Catherine, which constituted a prominent feature of his character, impelled him to advise the British Ministry to the prosecution of every measure which might effect her humiliation and check the progress of her arms. She was well aware of his antipathy, and, apprehensive of the injurious consequences that would inevitably result from his efforts at Reichenbach, it is said that she did not hesitate having recourse to effective means for preventing his presence at the conferences which were there held previous to the treaty. A potion, it is added, was administered to him at the time when he was setting out from Berlin, but Sutherland, physician to the Empress,[1] who was a country-

[1] The Empress's physician was Dr. Rogerson. The only person of the name of Sutherland in St. Petersburg at that time was the court

man of Ewart, and who knew or suspected Catherine's intention, sent him a hint to be on his guard. He escaped by means of emetics and medicines.

I am well aware that this is a serious imputation to bring forward even against Catherine II. Nor would I state it lightly, for I am far from participating Ewart's aversion to her. I consider her indeed as a very ambitious princess, emulating every species of fame, and not fastidiously delicate as to the manner of attaining her objects. Leopold designated her with truth when he said that "her head ought to be encircled with glory in order to conceal her feet, which stood in blood." Her whole reign, administration, policy, wars, and private life demonstrate that she was not scrupulous about the means by which she accomplished her plans of acquisition, vengeance, and gratification. The person from whom I received the account here given, and who is now no more, might challenge belief on very strong grounds. He was a man of calm and superior understanding, neither credulous nor imbued with any prejudices against the Empress. Add to these facts that he was intimately acquainted with Ewart, from whom, I have no doubt, he received the particulars of Catherine's attempt. Lastly, he was in Germany at the time when the treaty of Reichenbach was concluded, as well as previous and subsequent to its signature. He possessed therefore almost all the qualities, as well as the information, requisite for forming a sound and dispassionate opinion upon the fact in question.

Leopold having concluded peace with the Turks at Sistova, Catherine, thus left alone to carry on the war with that power, might unquestionably have

banker. The whole story appears to convey its own refutation. (See "Quarterly Review," vol. lvii. p. 473.)—ED.

been compelled to restore all her recent acquisitions, particularly Ockzakow. The Cabinets of St. James's, of the Hague, and of Berlin, acting in concert, while they were sustained by Leopold, become Emperor of Germany, could have dictated to the Russian Empress. Frederick William already threatened to march an army of 100,000 men against Riga, and every preparation was made for attacking the Livonian frontier, when the British Ministry receded. These events took place during the spring of the year 1791. In embracing a line of policy calculated to set limits to Catherine's conquests on the shore of the Euxine, Pitt acted, in my opinion, with equal wisdom and justice. But, unfortunately, he could not impress the House of Commons with a conviction that interests so remote, as well as so little understood, were of sufficient importance to incur any risk of a war for their support. Many of the county members possessed a very imperfect knowledge or comprehension of the position, value, and consequence of Ockzakow. Fox, availing himself of these circumstances, inveighed with so much eloquence and effect against the Ministerial system, and was supported on every division by such numbers, that it became evident Pitt must either abandon his measures and his allies or be finally left in a minority. In order to keep Catherine firm to her determination of not relinquishing Ockzakow, Fox did not hesitate to send a friend and relative to Petersburg as his agent. Adair demonstrated to the sovereign of Russia that if she remained inflexible the House of Commons would either force Pitt to yield or would drive him from the helm. Thus encouraged, Catherine refused to make any sacrifices of territory or to restore Ockzakow.

The English Minister, after a long conflict be-

tween political principle and love of power, at length determined to consult his preservation by renouncing his alliances. In so painful an extremity he had recourse to Ewart, who was then in London on leave of absence. To him Pitt applied, as the person who had conducted all the negotiations at Berlin, entreating him to return thither and to state the necessity imposed on the British Administration of adopting other measures. Ewart, not without extreme repugnance, undertook the commission and executed it; but the Duke of Leeds, a nobleman of an elevated mind, though not endowed with eminent abilities, was so much shocked at the violation of national faith, which faith he, as Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, had pledged, that he preferred the resignation of his employment rather than submit to be made the instrument of such humiliation. Lord Grenville replaced him in June 1791. About three months afterwards the Duke of York's marriage with Frederick William's daughter by his first wife was concluded, a transaction in conducting which Ewart, as the British Minister at the Prussian court, took a leading part, and the terms of which alliance, in a pecuniary point of view, he would have rendered much more advantageous to this country than were the stipulations settled, if the Duke's own injudicious interference had not prevented him. No sooner, however, was the union completed than Pitt, on very insufficient pretexts, founded ostensibly on some article in the matrimonial contract, to which Ewart had given his sanction, caused him to be recalled. He returned to England, received a pension of £1000 as a remuneration for his services, and retired from office. Treatment so severe, if not unmerited, his indignant spirit could not support. He died soon afterwards at Bath.

I have been assured, from the authority to which I have already alluded, that his death was accelerated or produced by the same means that had been ineffectually tried previous to the treaty of Reichenbach, administered by order of the same princess. Such an accusation I by no means implicitly adopt or credit, but Ewart was known to have urged the British Cabinet to measures personally hostile towards the Empress of Russia; and Catherine's vengeance, though it might be suspended, never slept. Instruments for effecting it might always be found, even in England, by a powerful sovereign. Whether Ewart's end was natural, or whether any means were used to hasten it, I will not determine, but I know from concurring, and, I may add, from official testimony, that his last words reproached Pitt, whom he accused of wanting firmness and principle. Yet it appears to me difficult to condemn Pitt's line of conduct. For even if he had resigned, rather than abandon his engagements with Prussia, the new Ministers would equally have violated them, and would have pursued an opposite policy. Such a line of action would, however, I admit, have been more dignified and magnanimous. But we must recollect that previous to his being made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1792, Pitt possessed no means whatever of subsistence except from the salary of his employments. He must have returned to Lincoln's Inn, or have occupied an apartment in Lord Chatham's house, who at the same time would have been compelled to leave the Admiralty. Such superiority to every sentiment of private interest, not to mention ambition, cannot be expected from man. Fox, in consequence of his successful interference to preserve Catherine's conquests, enjoyed for a short time a high degree of her favour. She placed

his bust in her cabinet[1] between two of the most illustrious statesmen of modern ages, and spoke of him in language of the warmest encomium. But the part which he took in Parliament subsequent to 1793, and the eulogiums lavished by him on the French Revolution, soon changed the Empress's tone. She caused the bust to be removed, and when reproached with such a change in her conduct, she replied, "C'étoit Monsieur Fox de quatre-vingt-onze que j'ai placé dans mon cabinet."

[*December* 1785.] Hitherto during nearly twenty months that had elapsed since Pitt's confirmation in office, the Coalition, though vanquished, remained nevertheless a compact and powerful phalanx. No desertion had yet taken place among their leaders in either House of Parliament. But the month of December exhibited a specimen of political defection in the person of Mr. Eden which excited a strong sensation. He had greatly contributed, by his influence over Lord North, to form that celebrated union, and he was the first to forsake it. Wearied with an unsuccessful and hopeless opposition, pressed by domestic demands, and conscious of possessing talents which might be rendered subservient to his own not less than to the public advantage, Eden opened a treaty with the Minister. Its results were disclosed by his double appointment, naming him one of the members of council for affairs of trade, and at the same time appointing him envoy extraordinary at the court of Versailles, for the negotiation of a commercial treaty with France. The former nomination had no emolument annexed to it, but to the latter was joined a salary of £6000 a year. Unquestionably Pitt, in making this purchase—for it could deserve

[1] There were two busts of Fox executed by Nollekens—the above, and another at Woburn Abbey.—ED.

no other title—concluded a bargain highly beneficial to the nation. Eden possessed a species of knowledge and ability which, except in the instance of Jenkinson, would have been vainly sought throughout the Ministerial ranks. And Jenkinson, who already beheld the peerage near his grasp, might neither have relished such a mission, nor could he be conveniently spared as yet by Pitt from the Treasury bench. Upon all subjects connected with trade, manufactures, revenue, and finance, Eden ranked above any individual composing the party of the Opposition.

Fox, Lord North, and Sheridan might indeed display more eloquence, wit, or humour during a commercial debate, but upon Eden principally devolved the task of dissecting, answering, and refuting the arguments, calculations, or propositions brought forward by the Government. His desertion left therefore a void not easy to fill, and produced a corresponding sentiment of indignation among his former friends. It found vent in lampoons, epigrams, and rondeaus, some of which were most poignant. When Eden attempted an apology to Lord North for joining Pitt, and observed that "it was not caused by any change of political attachment, but merely arose from a temporary affair of trade which he was appointed to negotiate,"—"You need not trouble yourself to explain the matter," replied that nobleman; "I have always considered the whole transaction as a mere affair of trade." Fox, after hearing his reasons and excuses, only asked him if he had seen Mrs. Jordan perform. That charming actress, who just then appeared for the first time on the London theatre, attracted universal attention. The ballad entitled "Billy Eden," set to the tune of "Ally Croaker," concentrated the wit of the party that he had quitted, and cannot be

perused with gravity. Each verse or stanza concluded thus—

> "Will you give a place, my dearest Billy Pitt O!
> If I can't have a whole one, O give a little bit O!"

It required some strength of nerves to support these attacks, and Eden was not supposed to possess great firmness or to set ridicule and satire at defiance.

I was familiarly acquainted with him between 1781 and 1789, not only in London, but at Paris during his mission, and finally at Bayonne, where I met him when returning from his embassy to Madrid. In his person he rose, like Jenkinson, above the ordinary height, but Eden's figure was elegant and wanted not grace. His countenance was thin and pale, his features regular and full of intelligence, his manners calm, polite, and conciliating. He descended from an ancient and honourable family, resident during successive centuries in the North of England, and which had been raised to the baronetage under Charles II. His eldest brother, Sir John, who represented the county of Durham during several years, was a steady adherent of Fox. Eden's alliances likewise contributed to support him, for he married a daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, and one of his sisters was the wife of Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury. When surrounded, as I have seen him, by his six daughters, he excited great interest.[1] Pitt, who, in his continual visits to his country-house at Holwood, used to stop, and sometimes pass the night at Beckenham, Eden's place, not far from Bromley in Kent, distinguished one of the young ladies by particular attentions. But either he never meditated marriage or he finally relinquished his intention. Eden's style of eloquence was neither glowing, nor elevated, nor

[1] Eden's family consisted of three sons and eight daughters.—ED.

impassioned, but it was correct, without digressions, always directed to the subject under discussion. He had been early initiated in public business, had filled various eminent situations at an early period of life, and might confidently look forward to higher employments. During the Coalition Administration he was made a British privy councillor, but Lord North (to whose party he belonged, and not that of Fox) did not, or probably could not, procure him a place in the distribution of offices, and Eden's wants propelled him towards the Treasury bench, as those of Burke did some years afterwards. "Junius," when speaking of Wedderburn, says, that "there was something about him which even treachery could not trust." There equally existed in Eden's physiognomy, even in his manner and deportment, something which did not convey the impression of plain dealing or inspire confidence.

Though he was a man of distinguished capacity, great application, and thorough acquaintance with state affairs, he wanted accomplishment. His knowledge of the French language was so limited at the time when he was named envoy to Paris as to place him under the necessity of taking a master to instruct, or at least to perfect him in it, but he amply compensated for that defect by his superior information on every point connected with the important objects submitted to his consideration. The First Minister, it was universally admitted, could not have made a wiser selection. Friends, nevertheless, as well as his opponents, declaimed against Eden as an apostate. The Duke of Dorset, then our ambassador at the court of France, but who was over here on leave of absence, and with whom, during the whole period of his embassy, I maintained a constant, unreserved correspondence, expressed himself in terms equally severe as Fox could have done on the subject. Writing to me from his seat at Knole in Kent, five

days after Eden's appointment, on the 14th December 1785, he says, "I am now so far in my way to Paris. I wished to have had a little conversation with you respecting Eden. His desertion is a curious business. It is astonishing how angry his old friends are with him, and, in my opinion, with very great reason. His situation at Paris will be new and particular. However, he has nothing to do with my functions, and I know he can do nothing without me, notwithstanding the *Gazette* writer has dignified him with the title of Minister Plenipotentiary." It is evident that the Duke, though utterly unable himself to negotiate a commercial treaty with the French commissioners, yet by no means liked the intrusion of such a man as Eden in a diplomatic character at the court of Louis XVI.

With Eden's defection, which formed the last domestic event of importance in the year 1785, I shall terminate the fourth part of the "Memoirs of my Own Time."

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JANUARY 1786.

Early in the month of January Lord Macartney arrived in England from Calcutta. His return to Europe excited much surprise, he having been appointed, nearly twelve months before, to succeed Mr. Hastings as Governor-General of Bengal whenever the latter should quit India. But notwithstanding this nomination, various weighty reasons precluded him from claiming the chair. His original appointment had not been carried at the East India House without great difficulty, the Directors, in a pretty full Court, being so equally balanced that the question was decided in Lord Macartney's favour by only one



Lord Macartney.

From a Drawing by T. Etridge.



vote. From Leadenhall Street it was therefore evident that he could not look for any steady or unanimous support. Nor had his public conduct in throwing up the government of Fort St. George rather than submit to execute the orders sent out by the Board of Control tended to conciliate the protection of Dundas. In order to explain this last assertion, it is necessary to state that Mahommed Ally, Nabob or sovereign of the Carnatic, was induced in the year 1781, when the armies of Hyder Ally had occupied and desolated his dominions, to assign over the administration of his revenues to the Madras Government. So extraordinary a mark of confidence, by which he in fact made a temporary resignation of his political authority, transferring it to the East India Company's servants, was, however, given under a solemn engagement that his territories should be restored to him immediately after the termination of the war. Nevertheless, Lord Macartney, apprehensive lest the Nabob's finances might be thrown into disorder under his own management, which must prevent his making the regular *kists* or payments due from him to the Company, refused to restore the Carnatic to Mahommed Ally. That prince loudly complained of such an infraction of national faith, and reclaimed the interposition of the Bengal Government. Hastings and the Supreme Council, taking part with the Nabob, enjoined Lord Macartney to fulfil the stipulations of 1781. But he remained inflexible and waited orders from England. One of the first measures embraced by the new Board of Control after its institution in the autumn of 1784 was to send positive directions for restoring the assignment and replacing Mahommed Ally in his rights of sovereignty. Lord Macartney, between whom and the Nabob violent personal altercations had arisen, preferred resigning the government rather than

undergo the humiliation of compliance. With this determination he quitted Madras and repaired to Calcutta, intending to prosecute his voyage from thence to England, wholly unprepared for the appointment which there awaited him to succeed Hastings as Governor-General.

It cannot be doubted that if his nomination had been legally complete, he would not have hesitated an instant to assume its functions. But the only title under which he could have demanded to be recognised was evidently defective and invalid. The Act of the Legislature, passed in 1774, which erected a supreme controlling government in Bengal, expressly declared that on a vacancy occurring in the chair the senior member of the Council should succeed to it. This event had actually taken place on the 1st day of February 1785, when Mr. Hastings quitted the Ganges, and his office devolved, under a parliamentary authority, upon Mr. Macpherson. Until, therefore, he should be expressly superseded and a successor appointed, no power could legally dispossess him. Of these facts Lord Macartney was well aware, and though he might probably have been easily prevailed on to exercise the powers of Governor-General till more valid authority could arrive from Europe, yet he did not attempt to claim the office as his right; still less did he make any demonstration of assuming it by force. If, indeed, he had taken any steps tending towards such an object, I know that he would have been instantly placed under arrest, conducted on board a ship, and sent to England. Mr. Macpherson having consulted the judges relative to the point, they unanimously declared that he was the only legal Governor-General to whom obedience was due, and he consequently prepared, if it should become necessary, to maintain himself in his situa-

tion. But Lord Macartney, who knew the utter invalidity of his commission, was too wise to make any effort for gaining possession of the chair. He quitted Calcutta after a residence of a few days, and, immediately on his arrival in London, presented upon oath, at the East India House, an account of his acquisitions while he had remained at Madras. They were considered as very moderate; not exceeding, I believe, £40,000.

While speaking of Lord Macartney's visit to Calcutta, I have had occasion to mention Mr. Macpherson, who shortly after this time was created a baronet. He was born in the Isle of Skye towards the close of the year 1744, and educated at the University of Aberdeen, where, as well as afterwards at that of Edinburgh, he early attained a knowledge of the great writings of antiquity. At the age of nearly twenty-three, impelled more by a desire of enlarging his mind than by any determined plans of a pecuniary nature, he went out as a passenger on board an East Indiaman, commanded by his maternal uncle, Captain Macleod. He was, however, nominally registered on the ship's books as purser. Arriving in 1768 on the Malabar coast, where the Company's forces were engaged at the siege of Mangalore, a town in the dominions of Hyder Ally, he volunteered on the storming party, and was one of those who entered the fort when it was taken by assault. He possessed, indeed, and exhibited throughout his whole life, the most unostentatious courage. While Governor-General of Bengal, where his reductions, civil and military, excited numerous enemies, he displayed the utmost superiority to the attempts at intimidation made by various individuals who supposed themselves aggrieved from the effect of his regulations. He manifested equal composure in Hyde Park when one of those officers, Major

Brown, called him out to answer with the pistol for acts performed reluctantly, under an imperious sense of duty, in his public character.[1] Mr. Macpherson first became known to the Nabob of the Carnatic in 1769, who was early impressed with the elevation of his sentiments, his apparent superiority to money, and the conciliation of his manners. But he united to them a deep, comprehensive, abstract mind, under the control of a philosophic temper, scarcely to be ruffled by passion. Desire of fame, and the ambition of meriting it by personal sacrifices and renunciations, formed the master-spring of all his actions. If any quality pre-eminently characterised him, it was patience, one of the rarest gifts of Nature to man, and one which he seemed to exert without an effort.

His person was cast in a Herculean mould, for he rose to above six feet in height, well-proportioned, athletic, neither too slender nor at all corpulent, active, elastic in the dance, and performing a strathspey at seventy almost like a youth of eighteen. His features, regular, pleasing, and expressive, were always illuminated by good-humour or enlivened by gaiety. I never saw him manifest dejection, though I have beheld him in situations which might have oppressed the firmest mind. The "mens immota manet" of Virgil applied peculiarly to him. So did not less the "lacrymæ volvuntur inanes," which I have seen him shed on more than one occasion. His accomplishments at least equalled his endowments, and his conversation was enriched by anecdotes gathered from Europe as well as from Asia. Convivial, formed for society, master of French and Italian, singing with ease and grace the airs of almost every nation, he chained his guests to

[1] In June 1787. The duel was bloodless, though three shots were fired on each side.—D.

the table. Those, and those only, who have heard him sing Don Gaston de Cogollos's Spanish song, which Gil Blas overhears when a prisoner in the Castle of Segovia, beginning,

"Ay de me! un anno felice
Parece un soplo ligero,"

can form an estimate of his powers. Nor was his talent limited to one language. Venetian, Hindoo, French, but, above all, Highland ballads, he gave with the same facility. Never did any man display more unaffected hospitality. It was only eclipsed by his liberality,—for his purse had unfortunately no strings, and was open to every applicant, of every country, who besought his aid or touched his compassion. I used to reproach him with his resemblance to Timon. But he did not finish, like Timon, by misanthropy, though he met perhaps with as strong causes for shutting his door against mankind as could have been produced by the profuse Athenian.

There still remain various touches to be added to this portrait. Macpherson was a poet of no common order. His "Tears of Sedition for the Death of Junius," written in 1769, and printed in some editions of "Junius's Letters," are most classic lines. So are his verses addressed to the three daughters of Mr. Coutts, the eminent banker, composed in 1791 at Ovid's tomb, not far from Rome. His manners were the more ingratiating because they formed a contrast with his person. If his figure reminded of Hercules, it was Hercules in the court of Omphalé, gentle, subdued, and disarmed. Who can wonder that such talents should raise their possessor to eminence? Mahommed Ally adopted him for his son, and intrusted to his vigilance the dearest interests of the Carnatic. Plundered and oppressed by successive governors of Fort St. George, the

Nabob had no other chance of redress than by committing his rights to the care of a faithful, judicious, indefatigable agent. While employed in fulfilling the duties of his charge, which brought him into communication and contact with Ministers, Lord North, then at the head of his Majesty's councils, conceived so favourable an opinion of his abilities and powers of conciliation that he determined to avail himself of them for the service of the state.

Early in 1781 Macpherson, recently named by Ministerial recommendation a member of the Supreme Council, was sent out to Bengal, expressly charged by Lord North to exert his utmost endeavours for restoring general peace throughout India and concord in our own internal administration at Calcutta. He fulfilled every expectation, and even surpassed the hopes entertained from his exertions. During nearly three years and a half that he continued to act under Hastings, he had the address to retain the Governor-General's confidence, without sacrificing either his own opinions on questions of public policy or the interests of the East India Company. He achieved even a more difficult task, that of acquiring Mrs. Hastings's regard, though he opposed her wishes or views on more than one occasion. The moderation of his character, which always inclined him to adopt healing, economical, and pacific measures, formed a most beneficial counterpoise to the enterprising and ambitious spirit of Hastings. Both possessed elevated minds, and both aspired to acquire fame, but through different or opposite channels. The one by enlarging and extending the British dominions in India, the other by confirming their power, restoring the Company's finances, and retrieving their credit, convulsed by a long period of hostility. To Macpherson Hastings ultimately resigned his authority, which the former continued

to exercise during above nineteen months, till he was superseded by Earl Cornwallis.

Soon after Sir John Macpherson's return from Bengal the Prince of Wales commenced an intimacy with him, which lasted above fourteen years, from 1788 down to 1802, when it became suddenly eclipsed and never revived. During that time few individuals enjoyed more distinguishing marks of his Royal Highness's favour. Sir John communicated constantly with him by letter while travelling on the Continent. When in London, he was admitted to Carlton House at almost all hours, frequently when the heir-apparent was in bed. I have dined various times in company with the Prince at Sir John's house at Brompton between 1797 and 1800. Towards the close of 1789 Macpherson had visited Italy. While resident at Pisa early in the following year, the Cardinal de Lomenie, ex-Minister of Louis XVI., who had taken refuge in that city, mentioned with such eulogiums to Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Sir John's financial measures adopted as Governor-General, for sustaining the East India Company's credit in Bengal, that Leopold determined to make his acquaintance. Dismissing all form, and accompanied only by a single attendant, he repaired on foot to Macpherson's lodgings and announced himself. He very soon afterwards succeeded his brother Joseph as King of Hungary and Bohemia, to which was added the imperial crown of Germany in the autumn of the same year, 1790. During his short reign of scarcely two years Sir John accompanied him or met him by his own desire wherever he moved, at Venice, Milan, Florence, and Vienna. Leopold confided in and consulted him on points of the most important nature. Previous as well as subsequent to that sovereign's decease he rendered

himself equally acceptable to Frederick William II., King of Prussia, who lived with him in constant intercourse.

[*24th January* 1786.] Never at any period of George III.'s reign has the session of Parliament been opened in a more triumphant manner than it was by Pitt in 1786. Fox, though he spoke on the occasion at great length and with greater ability, though he inveighed against the speech from the throne, both for its assertions on some points and for its silence on others, yet conscious how large a majority would support the Administration, did not attempt a division. Nevertheless, many circumstances rendered the day interesting as well as important. On that evening first presented himself to public notice an individual who has since very inadequately filled, during more than three years, the highest offices in the state, in peace as well as in war, at the head of the Treasury and of the Exchequer—an individual who, at the hour when I write, occupies the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department. I allude to Mr. Addington, subsequently created Viscount Sidmouth.[1] Pitt had selected him for seconding the address to the crown, an act which he performed with great propriety, in language of eloquence, and not destitute of grace and dignity. The panegyrics on the Minister which he intermingled in his speech might well be excused, as the tribute of friendship if not of justice. Addington, who was at this time about thirty years of age, originally came into Parliament at the general election in 1784 as member for Devizes. His person was tall and well proportioned, his countenance pleasing, his features fine,

[1] Mr. Addington was Speaker from 1789 to 1802. He was created Viscount in 1809, being then in his fiftieth year. He resigned the Home Secretaryship in favour of Peel.—D.

and his manners mild, calm, grave, calculated to conciliate mankind. Neither his descent nor his connections were illustrious. Dr. Anthony Addington, whose eldest son he was, practised medicine during many years at Reading in Berkshire, and acquired by his profession an ample fortune. He was considered as particularly skilful in cases of insanity, to which branch of the art he applied himself; but the circumstance to which his family may be said primarily to owe their actual elevation was his having attended the first Mr. Pitt in a medical capacity. Their two sons became early known to each other, and it is generally supposed that the member for Devizes received a hint from his friend the First Minister to keep his eye fixed on the Speaker's chair as an object of ambition well worthy his attainment, in which seat Time, aided by conjunctures, might probably place him. He was, in truth, admirably qualified for that eminent and dignified situation, the duties of which no individual during the present reign has fulfilled with more ability, impartiality, and general approbation, not excepting even the late Speaker, now Lord Colchester.[1]

Perhaps it might have conduced to his reputation as a public man, without materially injuring his fortune in the most extensive sense, if he had limited his desires to that eminence, which invariably conducts its possessor, after the lapse of some years, to a seat in the Upper House; for Cornwall only lost it by death. Onslow, Cust, Norton, Grenville, Mitford, and Abbot have all become peers.[2] So would

[1] Charles Abbot, Speaker from 1802 to 1817. He died in 1829. It was by his casting vote that the impeachment of Lord Melville was carried.—ED.

[2] Arthur Onslow, created Baron Cranley; Sir John Cust's son was created Baron Brownlow; Sir Fletcher Norton, created Lord Grantley; William Wyndham Grenville, created Lord Grenville;

Addington in the ordinary course of events. But his Majesty, on Pitt's resignation early in 1801, having offered him the vacant places at the head of the Treasury and the Exchequer, he had not resolution sufficient to decline so tempting a proposition. No sooner had the King made this selection, than he was seized with a privation of intellect nearly similar in violence and in duration to his memorable attack in 1788. Addington's appointment not having previously gone through the requisite forms, Pitt, though no longer in office, was under the necessity of performing the Ministerial functions during a considerable time in the House of Commons. Many people, indeed, thought that the reasoning faculties of the sovereign must have been impaired, if not wholly obscured, before he could have substituted Addington in Pitt's office. The experiment only served to prove that an excellent Speaker of the House of Commons may make a very inadequate and incapable First Minister. It answered indeed the sovereign's purpose, by gently transferring the government to a man from whom he might confidently expect much more acquiescence and submission than he found in Pitt, while Addington's political opinions were well known to be nearly or altogether similar with those of his predecessor. But the country looked in vain to the son of the Reading physician, transformed by the royal touch into a First Lord of the Treasury, for the endowments which met in the son of the Earl of Chatham. Not that Addington wanted talents which in ordinary times might have sufficed to sustain him in his employment. He was indeed wholly uninformed upon foreign affairs, having never visited the Continent, nor studied its interests, courts, and princi-

John Mitford, created Baron Redesdale; Charles Abbot, created Baron Colchester.—ED.

pal objects of attention. His mind did not readily embrace those points of policy, verifying the observation of Valentine in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" when he says—

"Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits."

But, on the other hand, he displayed a competent knowledge of finance, spoke on all occasions and on every subject from the Treasury bench with perspicuity and facility, applied closely to official business, and acquired some transitory popularity, among those who did not look below the surface, by making peace with France a few months after he came into power. These commencements were nevertheless speedily obliterated by other occurrences. It was soon ascertained that no treaty could bind a revolutionary nation, propelled by the energies of a military chief armed with despotic authority, whose principles were adverse to the repose and felicity of Europe, as well as to the independence of all other governments. War recommenced early in 1803. During about thirteen or fourteen months which elapsed while Addington still remained at the head of his Majesty's councils, his eyes were invariably, and I had almost said exclusively, directed towards the harbour of Boulogne. From that newly constructed port, and Vimereux, where Bonaparte had ostentatiously accumulated every sort of naval and military preparation for a descent on our shores, the English Minister appeared to dread the most calamitous results, notwithstanding the martello towers with which his predecessor had covered the beach from Dungeness to Folkestone. Every gunboat terrified him which ventured out from under the protection of the French batteries, and the occasional capture of one of these vehicles for transporting the vengeance of

the Corsican Consul to the Kentish coast diffused more satisfaction in Downing Street than could have been produced by a victory obtained in any other quarter.

While, nevertheless, Pitt continued ostensibly to sustain the Administration, or even to contemplate the state of public affairs with apparent indifference, the spell endured. But no sooner did the ex-Minister become thoroughly weary of passing his time in seclusion with Lady Hester Stanhope at Walmer Castle, occupied all day as he was in the ungrateful task of disciplining and drilling refractory Cinque Port volunteers or looking through his telescope at the batteries along the French coast, no sooner did he signify, by means of confidential adherents in both Houses of Parliament, his wish to resume his ancient place in the Cabinet, than Addington's power instantly dissolved like a dream. Pitt, compared by one of his noble followers to "a giant refreshed," took possession of the government as if it had been his patrimony and his birthright. Richard Cromwell, when deprived of the Protectorate in 1659 by the cabal of Wallingford House, did not oppose less resistance to the mandate which reduced him to the condition of a private citizen than was exhibited by Addington in 1804. Pitt rewarded him for this prompt submission by raising him to the peerage about seven months afterwards. If public opinion had sustained his Administration, it could not have been thus extinguished. But he wanted not only the talents, he wanted likewise Pitt's elevation of mind and superiority to feelings of self-interest, which he exhibited when he refused to confer upon himself the Clerkship of the Pells and bestowed it upon Barré. Addington acted otherwise, and when the office became again vacant, he took possession of it in his son's name. This

conduct, however natural and venial, yet produced an unfavourable impression throughout the country. After quitting the post of First Minister, and passing a considerable time out of office, followed by a very few adherents, he has again reappeared on the political theatre in a subordinate situation;[1] so that to him may be applied Juvenal's remark when (speaking of the change effected in the Roman people) he says—

> "Qui dabat olim
> Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
> Continet."

Perhaps I might add with the satirist—

> "atque duas tantum res anxius optat,"

an earldom and a pension.

Eden made a figure not less conspicuous than Addington on the first day of the session, though of a very different description. It was commonly asserted and believed that Eden had stipulated with the Minister, as a secret article of the bargain between them, for permission to absent himself from the House at the opening of Parliament. But Dundas having been informed that Eden, in the circular letter addressed to his former associates, had said, "Though, for the reasons assigned, I have accepted a mission from Mr. Pitt, yet I shall always retain my attachment to my old political friends," determined not to allow him to set off for Paris without his previously exhibiting himself as a supporter of Government in the front rank. Notwithstanding his repugnance he attended, and was placed on the Treasury bench between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasurer of the Navy. There I beheld him, exposed as in a political pillory during many hours to the gaze, and

[1] As Home Secretary.—ED.

indeed to the pelting, of his quondam Opposition companions. All eyes were directed towards him, while those whom he had joined and those whom he had deserted seemed equally to enjoy his distress. His countenance, naturally pale, but rendered more so by his situation, bore eloquent testimony to the feelings which agitated him. Lord Surrey began the attack with more address than was usually exhibited by him, to whom Fox generally delegated such parliamentary commissions as required little delicacy or circumlocution. After inveighing against the Ministerial profusion on various points, and demanding "whether the appointment of two ambassadors at Paris with separate establishments was to be regarded as a test of the economy of Administration," he added, "Possibly, however, the gentleman who is recently appointed to fill one of those posts may convince me of my error in thinking such a double nomination neither necessary nor economical. I do not see him in his place," continued Lord Surrey, affecting to look round for Eden among the minority members near him, while loud and general laughter pervaded the assembly. "Perhaps, too," subjoined he, "the same gentleman will inform us that he has been furnished with reasons for inducing him to place confidence in those very Ministers, for withholding from whom my good opinion he has furnished me at different times with so many excellent reasons."

Fox entered more pointedly into the subject. After denying that any necessity existed for appointing a person to negotiate the projected commercial treaty with France, whose rank in life rendered it unbecoming for him to act in a subordinate capacity, he proceeded to animadvert personally on Eden's defection. "The Minister," observed Fox, "has unquestionably called to his assistance

a gentleman who is somewhat better informed in matters of commerce than he is himself. Of that truth the experience of the last session has pretty well convinced him. Let him not, however, exult too much in having acquired such an ally, or trust too implicitly to his adherence, if the assertions contained in his own letters spoke his real sentiments. He has quitted a connection of whose principles he has repeatedly expressed his warmest approbation, in order to join a party whose continuance in office he has by his votes in this House declared to be dangerous to the existence of the constitution." Words more contumelious could not easily be furnished by the English language. Nor did Pitt attempt any defence of his new auxiliary, though he justified the measure of sending him over to France for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty, as well as the specific selection of Eden, who was eminently qualified to effect so great and salutary a national work. Eden himself remained speechless. He excited compassion; but his family, which was large (while his income consisted principally, if not wholly, in pensions issuing out of the Exchequer), compelled him to bring his talents to the Ministerial market. After undergoing so painful and public an exposure, he was permitted to set out for Paris without entering a second time the House of Commons.

Among the individuals of high rank who, during the first weeks of Pitt's Administration, had obtained considerable appointments from the crown, might justly be reckoned the Earl of Chesterfield. Early in 1784 he was named ambassador to the court of Madrid, for which place he soon afterwards ostensibly set out, accompanied by his relative, Mr. Arthur Stanhope, nominated secretary to the embassy. But, like Montauciel in the "Déserteur," who, with all his

efforts, could never raise the brandy bottle above his mouth, so Lord Chesterfield and his secretary, though they reached Paris, proceeded to Marseilles, and loitered for a long time on the shore of the Mediterranean, where they seemed to amuse themselves very well at the national expense, yet never could reach the Pyrenees or set foot on the Spanish territory. Such a waste of the public money necessarily excited animadversion. The Earl of Surrey, on the day when Parliament met, sternly demanded of the Minister, "whether the maintenance of an expensive embassy to Madrid for two years past, during all which period of time it was notorious that the nobleman named to that high situation had never approached the frontiers of Spain, constituted a proof of the economy of Administration?" Pitt, though he replied at great length to many of the accusations contained in Fox's speech, yet, whether from inadvertence or from intention I cannot say, took no notice of Lord Surrey's charge. But Martin, member for Tewkesbury, than whom a more incorrupt man did not sit in the House of Commons, and who commonly supported Pitt, not from views of interest or of ambition or of party, impelled by public principle alone, rose towards the close of the debate. In few and simple words he expressed his concern, no less than his surprise, that a Ministry of whom he had entertained so high an opinion should, in the instance pointed out by Lord Surrey, commit so flagrant a breach of economy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer immediately came forward and offered his reasons for the measure, prefacing them with some very flattering expressions to Martin himself. "The salary," he said, "had been allowed to the nobleman in question from a motive of policy, because, at the time when he was appointed, an ambassador was expected to arrive here from Spain.

But as that expectation had not been realised, his Majesty, approving, as he did, of Lord Chesterfield's conduct, nevertheless had ordered his immediate return to England." Pitt's excuse was admitted, and the embassy terminated, more beneficially indeed to the noble functionary than to the nation, he having received his ample appointments for two years, accompanied by other customary gratifications, without performing any diplomatic act.

Lord Chesterfield was collaterally related to the celebrated Earl so well known in the reigns of the first two princes of the Brunswick line, respecting which nobleman Dr. Johnson observed, that "he was a lord among wits, and a wit among lords." His successor did not inherit either the brilliant parts or the parliamentary abilities of that eminent person, but he nevertheless possessed considerable talents, heightened by pleasing, lively manners. To the King he rendered himself peculiarly acceptable, and few men about the court enjoyed more frequent or familiar colloquial intercourse with his sovereign. In order to avail himself of this distinction and the effects which might naturally be expected to result from it, he renounced, during many years, his paternal seat of Bretby, in the county of Derby, and hired a place at Bayley's, near Salthill, within three or four miles of Windsor. His attentions were not lavished on an ungrateful master. The Garter, the post of Master of the Horse, and other offices, successively conferred on him, formed sufficient evidences of royal predilection. Towards the concluding years of his life, after his Majesty's last attack of intellectual malady in 1810, Lord Chesterfield quitted Bayley's, withdrew to Bretby, and occupied himself till his decease in embellishing that classic residence of the Stanhopes, commemorated in such entertaining terms by Grammont. His career would have been

on the whole rather distinguished than otherwise, if the circumstance of criminally prosecuting his tutor, and the degree of commiseratian excited by Dodd's ignominious end, however deserved it might be, had not operated to the disadvantage of the pupil. It was thought indicative of too severe or unfeeling a disposition at two-and-twenty to surrender a clergyman, connected by such ties, to the public executioner. Such continues even at present to be the common sentiment of mankind respecting that transaction. The late Earl of Berkeley, having either wounded or killed more than one highwayman who attempted to rob him when travelling, Lord Chesterfield jocosely said to him in conversation, "Berkeley, when did you last dispatch a highwayman?" "Chesterfield," replied he, "how long is it since you hung a parson?" Here the dialogue ceased. The late Earl of Sandwich, who died in 1814, recounted to me this anecdote, which he received from Lord Berkeley himself.

With Dodd I was well acquainted. Some time during the month of November 1776, dining at the house of Messrs. Dilly, the booksellers, not far from the Mansion House, who were accustomed frequently to entertain men of letters at their table, I there found myself seated, very unworthily, among several distinguished individuals. Wilkes, Jones (afterwards so well known as Sir William Jones), De Lolme, Dr. Dodd, with three or four others, composed the company. We were gay, animated, and convivial. Before we parted Dodd invited us to a dinner at his residence in Argyle Street. A day was named and all promised to attend. When we broke up, Dr. Dodd, who had shown me many civilities during the evening, offered to set me down at the west end of the town, adding that his own carriage was waiting at the door. I readily accepted the proposal,

and he carried me back to the St. James's Coffee-house. The company accordingly met again on the evening fixed, when a very elegant repast was served, with French wines of various kinds. Mrs. Dodd presided, and afterwards received in her drawing-room a large party of both sexes. Dodd was a plausible, agreeable man, lively, entertaining, well-informed, and communicative in conversation. While in prison he wrote to me, urgently requesting my exertions with the late Lord Nugent to procure his pardon. If it could have been extended to him without producing, by the precedent, incalculable injury to society, his Majesty would undoubtedly have exercised in his case the prerogative of mercy. He felt the strongest impulse to save Dodd, not only on account of the numerous and powerful applications made in his favour, but as a clergyman who had been one of his own chaplains. The Earl of Mansfield, however, prevented so pernicious an act of grace. I have heard Lord Sackville recount the circumstances that took place in the council held on the occasion, at which the King assisted. To the firmness of the Lord Chief-Justice, Dodd's execution was due, for no sooner had he pronounced his decided opinion that no mercy ought to be extended, than the King, taking up the pen, signed the death warrant. He died penitent and pusillanimous. The weather on the 27th of June 1777, when he suffered, was most variable, changing perpetually from bright sunshine to heavy storms of rain, during one of which latter pelting showers he was turned off at Tyburn. His body, conveyed to a house in the City of London, underwent every scientific professional operation which, it was hoped, might restore animation. Pott, the celebrated surgeon, was present to direct them.[1]

[1] Perceval Pott, one of the most eminent surgeons of his day, was born in 1713 and died in 1788.—ED.

There were even found persons sufficiently credulous to believe that Dodd had been resuscitated and privately transported to Aix in Provence. Lord Chesterfield never altogether surmounted the unfavourable impression produced by the prominent share which he took in Dodd's prosecution, though time obliterated it in a certain degree.

Towards the close of the day when Parliament met, Major Scott reminded Burke of the engagement into which he had entered before the termination of the last session to bring forward his charges against Hastings. Scott added that it was incumbent on him to state at what time he intended to proceed, if he meant to proceed at all, as the late Governor-General felt the utmost anxiety for dispatch. Before Burke could answer, Fox, presenting himself to the Speaker's notice, observed that if his friend should so entirely forget his duty (which, at the same time, he was far from supposing) as to neglect accomplishing his promise, others would be found in that assembly disposed to bring the business under discussion. Burke declined pledging himself to any particular day or time, justifying his silence on the point by citing the great Duke of Parma's memorable reply, who, when pressed by Henry IV. to fix a day for a general action, answered that "he had not come so far in order to learn from his enemy the proper place or occasion for giving battle." It seemed by this ambiguous or evasive expression as if Burke had not altogether expected to be thus summoned, since more than seven months of parliamentary leisure which he had enjoyed subsequent to Hastings's return might naturally have enabled him instantly to commence his proceedings. Whether such was the fact or not, I know that many of the Governor-General's wisest friends censured the con-

duct of his agent. They thought a negative triumph might have sufficed, under all the circumstances of Hastings's position, without seeking the enemy, insulting and defying him. If, when so challenged, Burke had refused to prove his assertions, he must have been stigmatised as a calumniator. No alternative, therefore, was left him, except to undertake the painful office of an accuser. These reflections, however natural or judicious they might be, made little impression on a man who, conscious of the general rectitude of his intentions while administering the East India Company's affairs on the banks of the Ganges, erroneously conceived that party would respect him on his revisiting England. Hastings relied for security, if not for recompense, on three foundations, all of which proved totally without solidity. The first was his public services; the next, royal favour; and the last was Ministerial support.

Unquestionably Hastings merited highly of the East India Company, and consequently of the nation, in his public character. Nor were either the directors or the proprietors insensible to his great services. But they viewed his administration through a political medium, while Burke held it up to a moral standard. Utility and revenue formed the principal criterion of right and wrong in Leadenhall Street. At Westminster respect for every right, nay, even prejudice, of the Oriental princes and people, renunciation of all attempt to levy forced contributions from them, even when the preservation of the British territories seemed most urgently to demand it, such were the rules of action by which his accusers tried the Governor-General. He never appeared to comprehend thoroughly his situation. Yet all history, ancient as well as modern, might have shown him that, under

popular governments, the most resplendent public services have almost invariably conducted to persecution and punishment. If he opened the page of Grecian story, with which he was familiar, he must have seen the conqueror of Marathon accused by Xantippus,[1] and expiring of his wounds in prison, under the weight of a heavy pecuniary fine which he was unable to pay, imposed by the very people, in their legislative capacity, whom he had rescued from foreign invasion and slavery. Themistocles, who may be said to have twice saved the Athenians, on both elements, at Platæa as well as at Salamis, scarcely experienced a better treatment than Miltiades, and died in exile.

Rome, while she continued free, and consequently liable to become the prey of contending parties, like every state possessing liberty, offered, in the person of the first Scipio Africanus, a prototype of Hastings's own fate. That illustrious general, who vanquished Hannibal at Zama, was juridically attacked on his return to Italy, or, in modern language, he was impeached. The elder Cato persecuted him precisely as Burke did Hastings. The two Petilii, tribunes of the people, performed the same part as Fox and Sheridan did among us. Scipio was by them accused of extortion, exercised against Antiochus, King of Syria, nearly as Hastings was charged with acting towards Cheyt Sing and the Princesses of Oude. So great a similarity is there in all the events of history through every period of time. Even from the instance of Lord Clive, Hastings might have learned to deprecate and dread a parliamentary inquiry. The conqueror of Plassey, who subjected to Great Britain the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, very narrowly escaped punishment, and his services were military, performed principally in the field. Those

[1] Xanthippus, father of Pericles, impeached Miltiades.—ED.

of the Governor-General were executed only in his civil capacity, which he likewise in some measure divided with the members of the Supreme Council, consequently they did not make the same forcible appeal to national gratitude which victories produce. These reflections should have induced him to adopt a defensive line of conduct, whereas he in some measure provoked a prosecution.

If his services to the state and their operation on the public mind could not secure him from impeachment, or enable him triumphantly to repel his accusers, still less could he calculate on the effects of royal favour for extrication. That his Majesty considered him as a man who had merited highly of his country and of the crown is indisputable. I know that the King, down to his final loss of reason in 1810, expressed himself in those terms respecting Hastings, and always spoke of him as the worst-used subject in his dominions. But George III. could extend no protection to a man impeached by the Commons of Great Britain. Previous indeed to their vote he might prolong the conversation with Hastings at a levée, as her Majesty might distinguish Mrs. Hastings at the drawing-room, but subsequently he could not even appear in the royal presence at St. James's. Nor did the King possess any such control over Pitt as at other periods of his reign he exercised over other Ministers. The Earl of Bute was a favourite, not a statesman. Lord North stood in a more confidential and intimate relation to the sovereign than Pitt, who was elevated to his office as much by the national voice as by his Majesty's preference. Addington, I readily admit, who was substituted in Pitt's place entirely by royal selection, and maintained in it by the same power, could not with impunity have opposed the determined wishes of the crown.

Other reasons likewise existed which might impose a restraint on George III. It was well known that the late Governor-General and Mrs. Hastings had presented him or the Queen with many valuable articles brought from the East, principally precious stones. The ivory bed had been commemorated in the "Rolliad." Some obloquy attached itself to these splendid offerings of Oriental respect. In the spring of the year 1786 a man attracted attention who possessed the extraordinary faculty of masticating and swallowing stones. He lodged in Cockspur Street, where I saw him perform the act with apparent facility. He was commonly denominated "the miraculous stone-eater." Hastings's enemies caused a caricature to be struck and sold in the print-shops of the metropolis, where the King was represented in the Asiatic costume of the Great Mogul, a turban encircling his head. His mouth was wide open, and opposite stood Hastings with a large bulse of diamonds in his hand, which he threw one by one into the royal jaws. Underneath was inscribed, "The miraculous stone-eater," and no person could mistake the two figures.[1] This fact sufficiently proves how impossible it would have been for his Majesty to manifest any strong interest in Hastings's affairs without exciting severe comments.

Least of all ought Hastings to have nourished any expectations of Ministerial protection. The Chancellor, it is true, expressed the highest opinion of his services, accompanied with corresponding testimonies of contempt or reprobation for the printed reports, as well as for the personal attacks made on him in the House of Commons. But these ebullitions of Lord Thurlow's gloomy indignation, which evaporated in words, only stimulated the

[1] See *ante*, p. 19.

leaders of Opposition to more strenuous exertions by augmenting their animosity. In the first Earl of Mansfield, and the Archbishop of York (Markham), Mr. Hastings could likewise boast of two friends. He had indeed conferred the office of resident at Benares on one of the Archbishop's sons, a circumstance to which most invidious allusion is made in the "Pindaric," assigned to Dr. Markham by the author of the "Probationary Odes," where, describing "the bark rich with Indian spoils," on board which the Governor-General embarked for Europe, he exclaims—

> "Oh! to Britannia's shore
> In safety waft, ye winds, the precious freight!
> 'Tis Hastings; of the prostrate East
> Despotic arbiter; whose bounty gave
> My Markham's delegated rule
> To riot in the plunder of Benares!"
>
> ——"Soon may I greet the morn,
> When, Hastings screened, Dundas and George's name
> Through Bishopsthorpe's glad roofs shall sound!"

Jenkinson, too, I admit, might be numbered among the Governor-General's supporters. But his reign had nearly terminated, and the time was gone by when his opinion could almost sway a majority in the House. Whatever accusations of submission to secret influence the members of Opposition might find it convenient to throw out against Pitt, he was not, like Lord North, of a temper or character to suffer a controlling power between himself and the throne. Pitt well knew how to appreciate the service which he had rendered to the King in preventing the Coalition from putting on him a political strait-waistcoat. Jenkinson, therefore, in 1786, if he had not sunk to the level of an ordinary privy councillor, yet no longer exercised the mysterious power attributed to him during the Ameri-

can war. Besides, he had already one foot in the House of Peers, and only waited for the conclusion of the session to be removed from his present situation to a more dignified rank. The fact was so universally known, that Fox did not hesitate in alluding to it during the course of debate. Speaking of Jenkinson just about this time,—I believe it happened early in February on the discussion of a militia question,—Fox described him as "a person high in the Minister's confidence, who still remained a member of that House, but who, if universal report might warrant belief, would shortly leave it in order to grace another assembly." All eyes were directed towards Jenkinson. He necessarily felt how deep a stake depended, and he was too wise to risk a shipwreck by any act of imprudence at a moment when he had nearly accomplished the great object of his ambition. Hastings could not reasonably look for any efficient assistance from that quarter.

Pitt himself unquestionably owed to Hastings's friends the deepest obligations. They had joined him when struggling against Fox's majority, and to the "Bengal squad" Opposition reproached the Minister with subservience on every occasion. But he had now emancipated himself from those fetters, and, supported by popular favour, might disregard all past claims. By extinguishing the meditated impeachment he well knew that he should gratify the King. He preferred a different line of action, apparently more elevated, noble, and incorrupt. Probably, too, he was not sorry, by permitting the minority leaders to expend the whole force of their talents as well as their time against Hastings, to occupy them in an almost interminable pursuit, while from the eminence where he stood he assumed a dignified neutrality, leaving national justice

to find her own channel. Dundas had stronger personal motives even than Pitt for abandoning Hastings to the attacks of his enemies. He had raised himself to be the real head of the East India Board, and he dreaded no individual so much as the Governor-General of Bengal. In fact, if Hastings had surmounted the charges made by Burke, he would in all probability have been immediately created a British peer, or at least a privy councillor, and must have obtained a seat at the Board of Control. Nor could he have been a mere passive, subservient member of that Board. His experience, sustained by local knowledge, must have given a preponderant weight to all his opinions. From that instant Dundas would necessarily have beheld the edifice of his greatness shaken, if not subverted.

Burke, therefore, in bringing Hastings before a parliamentary tribunal, was in fact labouring for Dundas, who, unless we suppose him to have been superior to every movement of self-interest and ambition, must have secretly exulted in the misfortunes of a man formed to check his political progress. If, after thus contemplating the concealed causes which operated against Hastings, we calculate their combined force, we shall not wonder that he was borne away by them, and we cannot avoid condemning the temerity or presumption which roused the lion in his den. Lord Clive was better advised, and escaped impeachment because he did not defy or provoke it. We may justly question whether, if Major Scott had never appeared within the walls of the House of Commons or exerted his pen for Hastings, he would ever have been impeached at the bar of the Lords. It was the imprudent zeal of his agent that in some measure compelled Burke to produce his charges. Scott's

exertions in Hastings's cause were not less injurious than Sir William Draper's interference proved to the Marquis of Granby, when unsolicited he entered the lists against "Junius." Burke himself indeed declared, when addressing the House on the 17th of February, that "he was called upon and driven to the business which he had now engaged to prosecute."

[*17th—20th February* 1786.] This memorable judicial proceeding, one of the most interesting which has been instituted in our time, was opened by Burke in a manner equally solemn and impressive. The attendance was numerous, and never perhaps did any public question excite a more general curiosity, blended with sentiments of admiration or of condemnation for the person who formed the object of prosecution, according to the estimate formed of his official conduct. With great ability, aided by classic allusions or citations applicable to the case, Burke detailed the different modes of bringing a state criminal before the highest tribunal known to the British constitution, finally deciding in favour of impeachment. The recent instance of Rumbold, who had found means to frustrate "a bill of pains and penalties," deterred him, he said, from having again recourse to so ineffectual an expedient. To the alternative of ordering the Attorney-General to prosecute in the court of King's Bench he likewise objected, partly because Arden appeared unwilling to exert his abilities in the cause, but, as Burke asserted, still more on account of the magnitude and enormity of Hastings's offences. No doubt, however, he did not choose to intrust the decision to the plain sense of a jury, under the direction of a Lord Chief-Justice whose political opinions were well known to be highly favourable to Hastings. Against Dun-

das Burke indulged in the severest animadversions, as a man insensible to virtue and principle, endeavouring to prove his assertion by a reference to the Treasurer of the Navy's conduct in 1782, when, in his capacity of chairman of the secret committee, he moved more than one resolution criminating, or at least heavily inculpating, the Governor-General of Bengal. No individual better knew than Burke how to enlist and marshal the finest emotions or passions of the human mind in whatever cause he undertook, sometimes perhaps in violation of truth, frequently in opposition to reason. He contrasted the ready assistance which Dundas had experienced when, four years earlier, under the Rockingham Administration, he called for papers and documents to prove delinquency against Hastings, with the scanty means of legal information now afforded by Government to himself while engaged in a similar pursuit.

"I might," exclaimed he, "consider the rejection of my demand as a stratagem to defeat the whole inquiry, but I feel too awful a sense of public justice ever to desert its cause. The ruin of Roman justice arose *ex prevaricatione accusatorum.* When Cicero accused Verres, he was supported, not abandoned by the flower of the senate. The Hortensii, the Metelli, and the Marcelli all sustained him. Every species of evidence was furnished. The public records were laid open. One hundred and fifty days were granted him to collect materials, even from a province so near as Sicily to the seat of government. Can it now be asserted that the administration of justice is in honourable or liberal hands if proofs demanded by the accuser are refused and withheld? The downfall of the greatest empire which the world ever witnessed originated in the maladministration of its provin-

ces."—"I looked for aid from those in authority. Alas! I perceive that lesser objects interest them. The Cicero of the British senate (looking at Dundas), when he seemed to feel indignant at the crimes committed in the East, was not thus treated. But I perceive (turning his eyes on Pitt) that any operations by which the three per cents may be raised in value affect Ministers more deeply than vindicating the violated rights of millions of the human race. Notwithstanding, however, every obstruction which can be thrown in my way, a sense of public duty will make me surmount them. I feel strong in the goodness of my cause, and if this House support me, I will bring forward my charge. Confident of success, I will hazard the attempt against every combination of power or of wealth."

Neither Dundas nor Pitt could remain silent under such imputations. The former Minister observed that he never had moved any resolution respecting Hastings the object of which went beyond his recall. "The infraction of the treaty of Poorunder concluded with the Mahrattas, and the expensive establishments set up by him in India," continued Dundas, "I thought highly culpable in 1782. I think so still, but I do not regard Mr. Hastings as having done any act of a criminal nature." He concluded by declaring, that with respect to the production of papers, it was his intention to throw no unnecessary impediment in the way of inquiry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer likewise addressed the House, and every expression which fell from his lips attracted notice, as affording a clue whereby to judge of his future intentions, but they were clothed in language too guarded and indefinite to furnish any certain criterion. Hastings, he admitted, appeared, under some points of view, a resplendent character, while,

if viewed through the medium of other parts of his Administration, he excited condemnation. Having justified Dundas from the imputation of inconsistency on account of his conduct in 1782 as compared with his present line of action, "If," added Pitt, "any real guilt were to be investigated and any punishment to be inflicted, I am of opinion that he would be as proper to guide the prosecution, and as likely to accomplish every purpose of public justice, as the individuals into whose hands it has devolved. But when the established rules of evidence are to be overleaped, and a judicial proceeding is to be conducted rather by violence and personal resentment than by the dull forms of ordinary law, then, indeed, I consider the gentlemen who have undertaken it as the fittest persons to whom it should be intrusted. I am," concluded Pitt, "neither a determined friend nor foe to Mr. Hastings, but I will support the principles of justice and equity. I recommend a calm, dispassionate investigation, leaving every man to follow the impulse of his own mind." Almost all the documents required by Burke were laid on the table, while universal attention was directed towards the great prosecution that seemed about to commence in Westminster.

[*27th February* 1796.] It was nevertheless intermediately attracted into another channel by Pitt himself, who in person brought forward a measure calculated from its nature and object to suspend for the time every inferior matter of national consideration. I mean the projected fortifications for the defence of Portsmouth and Plymouth. We have seen that the Minister had been restrained during the preceding session from devoting to their construction a considerable sum of money in consequence of the general jealousy or disapprobation manifested on the subject. He nevertheless thought

proper to resume it, and to shock public opinion by the prominent part which he took in propelling so obnoxious a system in defiance of every objection. The whole transaction forms one of the most characteristic features of Pitt's long Administration. Among the individuals who occupied an eminent place in his esteem was, as I have already stated, the Duke of Richmond, but he by no means enjoyed the national or even parliamentary confidence in the same degree. Not content with placing him at the head of the Ordnance, Pitt had given him a seat in the Cabinet; and this new Archimedes, from the elevation which he had attained, undertook to shake, or rather to change and to remove, the foundation of the national greatness. The navy had always been considered as our peculiar bulwark and safeguard. Without attempting to supersede a species of defence so analogous to our insular position, the Duke proposed to augment our security by works of very considerable magnitude and expense, intended to be constructed under the superintendence of scientific engineers.

In order to obviate the prejudices entertained against his proposition, a board, composed of naval and military officers, had been formed, who were empowered to examine and report to the King their opinion on the measure. But the Duke being constituted the president, and all the questions put to the members originating from him, their report, which strongly recommended the plan, was very unfavourably received by the public. Even the approbation of the board was not by any means unanimous. Three individuals strongly dissented from it, of whom two sat in the Lower and the third in the Upper House of Parliament. General Burgoyne and Captain Macbride had, indeed, already expressed their condemnation of the whole plan.

They were sustained by Earl Percy, who very soon after this time became Duke of Northumberland. His high rank, independence of mind, and military experience gave no small weight to his opinion. The "Rolliad," when separately characterising them, says—

> "See Burgoyne, rapt in all a soldier's pride,
> Damn with a shrug, and with a look deride;
> While coarse Macbride a busier task assumes,
> And tears with graceless rage our hero's plumes;
> And Percy, too, of lineage justly vain,
> Surveys the system with a mild disdain."

In the course of the month of February three debates took place relative to the proposed fortifications, at all of which the Master-General of the Ordnance was present, not under the gallery at the lower extremity of the House, where as a peer he ought naturally to have been seated, but in the gallery appropriated to members of the House of Commons, over the Treasury Bench, and directly opposite to his nephew, Fox. From this commanding position he might be said to survey as well as to hear the discussion. Throughout each of these evenings Pitt sustained the whole weight of the arguments urged against the plan, answered in person every objection, and stood, as it were, singly in the breach. None of his coadjutors in office uttered a word. Mr. Grenville was silent, Lord Mulgrave remained mute, and even Dundas, who on almost every other question came forward with alacrity, found no tongue to defend the Duke of Richmond's system. Sheridan, Courtney, and Burgoyne exposed the manœuvres used to produce the favourable report made on the subject by the board of officers. Fox, unmoved by the presence of the Duke, his uncle, held up the whole project to derision, while he at the same time protested that he

considered the proposition itself of fortifying the dockyards as neither a military nor a naval question. "It is," said he, "one of a broader nature,—political, financial, and constitutional." Sheridan moved for a copy of the appointment of the board, and such portions of their instructions and report as his Majesty might deem it discreet to make public without injury to the state. But Pitt either eluded or refused the information required on various pretences, some of which by no means appeared to be candid or satisfactory. He stated that it would be indecorous and improper to call for parts of the report which the King in his discretion had thought fit to withhold. Sheridan's motion was negatived without a division. It seemed as if the Minister reckoned on the blind as well as submissive devotion of the House, but the event greatly deceived his expectation.

Pitt himself commenced the discussion, justifying and recommending the system of fortifications as applicable to our national defence by appeals to English history from Elizabeth down to George II. Even as an operation of finance, which might demand, he allowed, near a million sterling before it would be completed, he declared that, "considering the protection derived from it, and the means it would afford for preventing a future war, the first million that should be applied towards creating a sinking fund would not be more wisely or judiciously employed than a similar sum expended on the proposed works." If oratory could have procured a majority of votes, unquestionably Pitt would have carried the question, but the common sense of his hearers rejected its fascination. Two of the four representatives for Devon and Cornwall, Mr. Bastard and Sir William Lemon,[1] rising successively,

[1] John Pollexfen Bastard was member for the county of Devon; Sir William Lemon, Bart., member for Cornwall.—ED.

in few and simple words expressed their insurmountable objections to the measure. The former, after comparing the noble projector of these impregnable bulwarks to the knight of Cervantes, moved that "works on so extensive a plan are inexpedient." Sir William Lemon admonished the Minister against pursuing a proposition which would infallibly deprive him of the favour and confidence of the people. Walwyn,[1] one of the members for the city of Hereford—a man who, I believe, never rose to speak either before or since—warned the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to shock the public feeling by persisting to recommend a system odious to the nation. "Report confidently asserts," added he, "that the right honourable gentleman's mind is not with the measure nor sincerely friendly to it." Pitt rising with some indignation to repel so false and groundless an aspersion, Walwyn calmly replied, "I spoke merely from report, and I had hoped that the report was founded in truth."

It was about midnight when Sheridan rose, and his speech constituted one of the most splendid exhibitions of genius which I witnessed during the time that I sat in Parliament. It would be difficult to decide whether he was most severe on the Chancellor of the Exchequer or on the Master-General of the Ordnance. After exhausting his artillery upon Pitt, he then turned to the Duke. Holding in his hand the report made by the board of officers, he complimented the noble president on his talents as an engineer, "which," Sheridan observed, "were strongly evinced in planning and constructing that very paper. His professional ability shines as conspicuously there," added he, "as upon our shores. He has made it a contest of posts, and conducted his reasoning not less on principles of trigonometry

[1] James Walwyn.—ED.

than of logic. There are certain assumptions thrown up, like advanced works, to keep the enemy at a distance from the principal object of debate; strong provisos protect and cover the flanks of his assertions; his very queries are in casemates. No impression, therefore, can be made on this fortress of sophistry by any loose or general observations. It becomes necessary to open trenches before the citadel, and to assail it by regular approaches." Beautiful and varied as was this chain of metaphors, drawn from the technical terms of art themselves, applied to the subject under debate, yet its effect was far outdone when, after having captivated the fancy, he addressed the reason and the feelings of his audience. He well knew that the decorations of oratory or the play of rhetoric would never gain a vote among the country gentlemen, whose organs, not calculated for such delicate aliments, required plainer and more substantial nourishment. Sheridan's tact was so fine, his faculties so much under control, his knowledge of human nature so accurate, and his temper so unruffled, that he always seemed to play with the question. Unlike Burke, whose passions frequently carried him out of the course, Sheridan assumed, acted, and performed the part which his judgment suggested or dictated, never losing sight of the object, and never sacrificing it merely to attain the barren praise of eloquence, however ardent might be his desire of fame.

When Sheridan had held up the Duke of Richmond's system to reprobation as fallacious, dangerous, expensive, and unconstitutional, when he had compelled Pitt himself reluctantly to convict his friend of being a wild visionary, who, embracing a just principle, deduced from it the most preposterous conclusions; finally, when he had demonstrated that all the data on which rested the proposition were

only distortions of fact or of testimony, he then made his last appeal to the sense, principles, and independence of the county members—in other words, of the landed interest. His ideas, admirably arranged, were not lost even on the most obtuse, weary, or sleepy of his auditors.

Sheridan's manner, tones, and inflections of voice, now playful, now grave, but never carried to violence or excess, gave a peculiar charm to his enunciation. Fox felt, indeed, so clearly his own inability to add anything to such a speech, that though he rose when Sheridan sat down, he addressed the House with comparative brevity. His noble nature rendered him incapable of jealousy or rivalry. Never, I believe, was any individual more exempt from every sentiment of that description. His friend had forestalled the subject under discussion; Fox therefore alluded to some other topics which grew out of it. Pitt having characterised the late treaty made by the Earl of Shelburne with France as a necessary peace, and Barré, indignant at that epithet, denominating it a great and glorious peace, Fox peremptorily denied that either the one or the other term could be applied to it with truth. "I maintain," continued he, "we had a right, under the circumstances of the country in January 1783, to expect a far more advantageous treaty. If, however, it really was great and glorious, those who were then in office have singularly distributed the rewards due to its authors. For themselves they have reserved places and emoluments, leaving the individual who was its principal negotiator in possession of all the encomiums due to so meritorious a work. Ease and praise they have liberally bestowed on the noble Lord. For themselves they have reserved the cares, the fatigues, and the salaries of office." These animadversions upon Pitt's treatment of the

Marquis of Lansdowne must have been most painful to the Minister; but though he spoke in reply to Fox at considerable length, he made no allusion to the circumstance. Even at this hour an obscurity still overhangs the cause of the disunion that existed between those two First Ministers—an obscurity which perhaps may never be completely withdrawn or elucidated.

Dundas, conscious that his silence must infallibly operate as a virtual desertion of his friend the Minister, at length took part in the discussion. His physical powers of countenance and of voice were not indeed exceeded by those of any man who possessed a seat within the walls of the House, and he had already made so many sacrifices of political opinion to Pitt, that it could not be supposed he would refuse to come forward on the present occasion. The morning began faintly to dawn when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose a second time, and his appearance suspended the general impatience for the question. His discourse seemed principally addressed to Walwyn, with a view to counteract the injurious impression made in ascribing to him insincerity. As soon as he sat down the division took place, for which great anxiety had been expressed by both parties, each side anticipating success. We divided on the original motion of Pitt, that "it is an essential object for the safety of the state to fortify the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth." When the result was announced, and the numbers declared to be equal, namely, 169 Ayes and as many Noes, an uproar arose which I had not witnessed within those walls since the memorable division of the 27th of February 1782, exactly four years earlier, on which night Lord North remained in a minority of nineteen, and the further progress of the American war was

arrested. Many of the Minister's friends and adherents rejoiced, I believe, in his defeat. Indeed, I question whether of the 169 persons who supported him sixty-nine really wished him success. I was myself one of those who voted with him, but my line of conduct in 1786, whatever it may have been, has no influence on my written opinions in 1818.

Silence being at length obtained, though not without difficulty, Cornwall stood up, and after stating the equality of numbers, added, that at so late an hour he was too much exhausted to enter on a subject which had been already thoroughly discussed. "I shall therefore," subjoined he, "content myself with voting against the original motion, and declaring that the Noes have carried the question." At these words the acclamations redoubled. Pitt's proposition being thus negatived, Bastard's amendment naturally came forward, which pronounced the inexpediency of adopting the plan recommended by the board of officers. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer instantly moved the order of the day. A new debate might now have arisen, if Bastard had not proposed a compromise, offering to wave his amendment provided that Pitt would pledge himself not to revive the system which had just been reprobated by the House. The Minister accepted the offer, adding, that "the opinion so clearly expressed by the recent vote should serve as a law to him." With this declaration the member for Devon professed himself satisfied, and the order of the day being moved from the Treasury bench, was carried without any opposition. We did not, however, adjourn till Fox had given notice of the postponement of various motions for papers which Burke intended to demand in order to prove his charges against Hastings. "My right honour-

able friend," said Fox, "has been prevented by indisposition from attending his duty here on this evening — a circumstance most fortunate, sir, for you" (looking at the Speaker), "as it has afforded you an opportunity, which otherwise you could not have enjoyed, of acquiring immortal honour by giving your casting vote against the proposed fortifications." No notice was taken of this sarcasm, and we at length separated at half-past seven o'clock in the morning. Public opinion unquestionably went with the Opposition. Prints appeared in which the Duke of Richmond was represented attempting to apply a match to a battery of cannon, while the Speaker of the House of Commons, habited in his official robes, extinguished the fire by the same means which Captain Lemuel Gulliver says he successfully used to quench the flames that broke out in the royal apartments during his stay in Lilliput.

The measure in question was the third great Ministerial experiment in which Pitt had been completely defeated within the space of about twenty-one months. The first, namely, the Westminster scrutiny, an act of persecution and oppression instituted with a view to deprive Fox of his seat for that city, after a most harassing and expensive contest, terminated in such a manner as to cover the Government with obloquy. Temerity characterised the Irish propositions, which were, besides, so ill digested when brought into the House by Ministers, that to the laborious investigations of the Opposition they owed their principal amelioration. Yet even when thus amended they were rejected not less by the people than by the Parliament of Ireland. On the present occasion Pitt seemed to have resigned himself blindly into the hands of a nobleman who, however patriotic might be his intentions, was generally recognised as a man of a heated mind, so tenacious of his

opinions as rarely to recede on any point, and of very doubtful judgment. The plan of fortifications owed its defeat, not to the numbers or to the eloquence of the regular opposers of ministry, but to the country gentlemen, the usual supporters of Administration. Hardly more than 340 members voted on the question. There remained therefore near 220 absentees, of whom a very large proportion unquestionably were adverse in sentiment to the measure.

The Coalition, during the eight months that they retained possession of power, made only one false step, which proved, however, fatal, while Pitt after three stood firm. The reason was obvious. Lord North and Fox made a mutual sacrifice of principle as well as of enmity to their ambition. The Minister, though censurable or mistaken on many great points of policy, yet was disinterested and elevated above every object except glory. Fox ought to have foreseen that his own popularity and the King's unpopularity both arose principally from the American war, and would both cease, at least in a considerable degree, with the termination of that contest. Instead of conciliating the sovereign, as he should have done, Fox attempted to bind him. Nor can it be justly pretended that the royal favour was unattainable after the offences which he had committed. His uncle, the Duke of Richmond, while in opposition, had made use more than once of very contumelious personal expressions relative to his Majesty when speaking as a peer in his place. Yet he was not proscribed. Wilkes stood during many years in open personal hostility to the King. Nevertheless, his conduct in opposing the East India Bill obliterated his transgressions. Fox might, no doubt, have made his peace at St. James's, but he preferred another mode of cementing his power.

If, in February 1786, we estimate the respective political talents possessed by the two sides of the House, we shall be compelled to admit that the intellectual balance preponderated greatly in favour of Opposition. Pitt and Dundas, sustained by Mr. William Grenville, constituted the principal ability found on the Treasury bench, for Jenkinson rarely took any part in debate except on matters connected with commerce or navigation. He had, besides, nearly served out his time, and expected to be speedily "rapt up into that heaven of rest," as Burke termed it, the House of Peers. It was likewise Jenkinson's supposed influence, much more than his eloquence or even his information, which had given him weight in Parliament. Lord Mulgrave, dull, heavy, loud, monotonous, and prosaic, tired more than he amused his audience. Neither the Attorney nor the Solicitor General were favourably heard when they rose, and Scott, the present Lord Chancellor, had not yet been retained by Administration. The two boards of Treasury and Admiralty afforded no assistance to Government, though the Marquis of Graham occasionally presented himself to the Speaker's notice. Lord Mahon, whose energies of body and mind, sustained by his enthusiasm in Pitt's cause, supplied his defects of judgment, and who frequently mixed in debate, was withdrawn just at this time from the House of Commons by his father Earl Stanhope's death.

Thus stood the account on the side of Ministry. Let us now survey the Opposition benches. There were seated Fox and Burke, Lord North and Sheridan, presenting such a combination of eloquence, learning, wit, and intellect as the annals of Parliament probably have never exhibited at the same time, and whose powers of argument or of pleasantry were often drawn out on the same evening

against the same measure. Behind them appeared Francis, Windham, and Courtenay, occasionally supported by General Burgoyne and Sir Grey Cooper. It is true that their ranks had suffered a loss by Eden's defection, but Pitt had not acquired any parliamentary strength in consequence, Eden's services being destined for the meridian of Paris, and were not to be exerted at Westminster. The most prejudiced man must admit the superiority of talent at this period among the minority. Fox, indeed, freely avowed that Pitt stood on foundations altogether unconnected with the abilities necessary for a statesman. When addressing the House on the 27th of February he observed, "It would be absurd to suppose, on considerations of party, that our carrying the proposed amendment can be an object of importance. Does any man imagine that I or any of my friends shall be advanced one step nearer the acquisition of power whether the Duke of Richmond's fortification plan succeeds or is negatived? If defeating the Minister, even upon points which he has exerted his whole force to carry, could have brought us nearer to office, how happens it that, after the failures he has undergone, he not only remains unshaken, but seems to take deeper root? Has the complete rejection of the Irish propositions affected him in his Ministerial capacity? Did his shameful defeat in the business of the Westminster scrutiny either injure him or serve me in a Ministerial point of view? It is a fact that as a Minister he thrives by defeat and derives strength from disappointment." To such a desperate and almost hopeless situation had Fox's want of prudence reduced him, that scarcely any event except the demise of the crown seemed to afford him a prospect of seizing again the reins of Government.

[*March* 1786.] Throughout a considerable part of the month of March, Burke continued to call for papers of various kinds requisite for substantiating his charges against the late Governor-General of India. The first in order of time related to the peace made with the Mahrattas. Dundas and Pitt both objected to their disclosure, not only as revealing transactions which ought on no consideration to be divulged, but inasmuch as the late treaty, so happily concluded by Hastings, merited universal applause. The Treasurer of the Navy and the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed on this occasion to vie with each other in their encomiums relative to its salutary operation. "The benefits resulting from it," observed Dundas, "proved the salvation of the British empire in Asia. It dissolved one of the greatest confederacies ever formed against our possessions there; and if Mr. Hastings had not effected it, our power must have been subverted in that quarter of the globe." Many persons, deceived by such flattering testimonies thus pronounced from the Treasury bench, anticipated a speedy and a triumphant termination of the charges brought forward against Hastings. But there were others, among whom Rigby might be enumerated, who, as the event proved, saw more clearly, and who always predicted that Ministers would abandon him in a subsequent stage of the prosecution.

Major Scott, as his agent and representative, usually, if not invariably, took part in every discussion respecting Hastings. His accurate local knowledge of the scene where the transactions took place enabled him to contend even with Burke, and to dispute every inch of ground, sometimes to refute or to disprove the assertions made from the Opposition benches. During the debate of the 3d March, Frederick Montagu having remarked that "great

as were Burke's abilities, unwearied as was his diligence in the investigation of truth, yet it was much to be feared he must trust to posterity for his remuneration;" Scott demanded "for what acts he was to receive his reward from posterity? Will it be for the violent and opprobrious epithets which he uniformly bestows on Mr. Hastings? Strong as that language has been, his treatment of the noble Lord in the blue riband seated near him, and now become his noble friend, was equally pointed. He has pledged himself to impeach Mr. Hastings. Did he not pledge himself formerly to impeach the noble Lord? Nay, his impeachment was much farther advanced; for, as I have been assured, he declared that it was in his pocket." Burke took no notice of this personal attack; but Scott asserting that in the month of November 1783, when the celebrated East India Bill was introduced into Parliament by Fox, he had received a message or intimation from persons in office holding out security to Mr. Hastings against the threatened impeachment provided his friends would engage to remain neuter, Fox instantly rose to repel the accusation. In a manner and in words the most solemn, he denied that any proposal had ever been made for an accommodation with Mr. Hastings, either with his knowledge or concurrence. The same positive denial he repeated on the part of all his colleagues. Scott nevertheless maintained the accuracy of his assertion; but, as the gentleman from whom the overture came was not then present in his place, either to confirm or to contradict it, all further explanations were by mutual consent postponed till he should appear.

[*6th March* 1786.] The individual in question was no other than Sheridan, who, coming forward, as the gravity of the case required, extricated both himself and his friends with consummate address.

He admitted, indeed, that at the time to which allusion was made, he, as one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, had sent a confidential person to Major Scott, empowered to know whether Hastings, if recalled, would comply, and return to England. "In order," added he, "to explain the principle on which I thus acted, I will state, that after the resolutions inculpating Mr. Hastings, to which this House agreed on the 28th of May 1782, I thought there remained only two lines of conduct to be pursued: one, to recall him instantly by the strong arm of Parliament, and to inflict on him exemplary punishment; the other, to bring in an East India Bill, which, on the ground of expediency and from regard to the difference of opinions respecting the Governor-General's public merits, should banish all retrospect. These being my opinions, and the latter measure appearing to me most expedient to be adopted, I therefore commissioned a mutual friend to put the question above stated to the Major. In the course of their conversation the East India Bill was mentioned, but not with the most remote idea of bartering impunity to Mr. Hastings in return for his support of that bill. I have had an interview with the person whom I sent, and he assures me, as he has likewise certified to the Major, that such is the exact fact. I doubt not, therefore, of his acknowledging his mistake respecting the supposed compromise." A more ingenious defence could not easily have been set up; nor did Scott, when he replied, deny that Sheridan's friend now confirmed every word of the actual statement. But he maintained that though he was now therefore bound so to think, he had understood the reverse at the time, and had remained ever since under that impression. Here therefore the matter ended, and Fox expressed great gratification at its being so satisfac-

torily explained; but many persons remained incredulous on the subject. It was obvious that Sheridan had tried to open some negotiation with Hastings's agent, and that the latter had conceived it to hold out a compromise. Nor did it appear less indisputable that Sheridan was a reluctant party to the present impeachment. His own confession fully warranted such a conclusion.

[*7th March* 1786.] The interests, the government, and all the concerns of our East India possessions seemed at this period of time to take an almost exclusive hold of Parliament and of the public mind. Francis, whose intellectual energies aided by thorough local information, and clothed in language of uncommon asperity as well as force, enabled him to wield with ease the subject, attempted to explain and amend Pitt's East India Bill of 1784. He failed in effecting his object as a matter of parliamentary revision, but he did not fail in impressing his audience with a conviction of his profound knowledge of the question and enlarged powers of mind. I speak most impartially, for I neither agreed with him on political points, nor regarded him with any degree of predilection. Like Burke, whose prejudices of many kinds often obscured his reason, Francis appeared to be sometimes animated by enmities which extinguished every liberal sentiment in his bosom. He always affected to consider Burke as infinitely his superior. Burke was so in powers of fancy and in classical knowledge, but Francis possessed equal acuteness and perhaps more depth of thought. If Francis was "Junius"—of which fact I entertain no doubt—we may question to which of them posterity will assign the highest place. "The relation in which I stand to my right honourable friend," said Francis, "confers on him every claim that belongs to authority, and justifies in me every

sentiment of submission. It is the feeling of a being who is instructed towards the being that instructs him. I am not equal to the task of pronouncing his panegyric. Should I indeed undertake it, my reflections would utterly discompose me. They would lead me to the painful contemplation of virtues unrewarded, and of veteran services growing grey under the neglect, if not the ingratitude, of his country. If fame constitute a reward, he possesses it already,—but I know that he looks forward to a more noble recompense. He believes, as I do, that in some other existence virtue will meet its just retribution, in a state where those who have faithfully and gratuitously served mankind

'Shall find the generous labour was not lost.'"

Burke did not, however, manifest any inclination to "serve gratuitously" under Pitt when he went over to Administration in 1793, nor did he seem inclined to expect "his retribution in a future state of existence." He preferred seeking his reward from the Treasury in this life.

[16*th*—2*d March* 1786.] Ever since Lord Macartney's unexpected return from Bengal, the Cabinet determined on sending out a person of high rank to fill the important post of Governor-General. It was offered to my friend Lord Walsingham, who, though not endowed with pre-eminent talents, yet possessed many qualities that fitted him for the situation. I have perused Pitt's letter addressed to him on the occasion proposing to him the appointment. But that Minister refusing to comply with some demands which he made, on the contingency of his decease happening while he remained in India, the negotiation terminated without effect. At length Lord Cornwallis[1] was prevailed on to accept it. Perhaps

[1] Charles, Marquis of Cornwallis, born 31st December 1738; Gov-

a wiser or better selection could not, on the whole, have been made for so eminent an office. At the time when it took place his faculties were adequate to the employment, yet not above it, combining judgment with moderation. Simplicity of manners and incorruptible integrity were in him united, if not with military talents, at least with military experience. His disaster at Yorktown in October 1781 had not left any imputation on his professional character, it being well known that the orders were peremptory to advance into the province of Virginia, and that his surrender was the result of imperious circumstances. In order to give greater lustre to his appointment, he was named not only Governor-General but Commander-in-Chief, with a proportionate augmentation of salary. A much more important regulation, empowering him to decide upon every measure, whether the members of the Supreme Council agreed with him or dissented from him, formed the leading feature of a bill which Dundas brought into the House of Commons at this time. All the ability of the Opposition benches drew out in array against a clause calculated, as they asserted, to establish systematic despotism throughout our East India possessions vested in the hands of one person. Nor could the fact be denied, though the principle was defended and justified by Ministers. Sheridan attacked the bill itself as forming a satire on Pitt's bill of 1784, which it cut up by the roots, proving, he said, that a measure so much vaunted as a masterpiece of legislation only two years earlier now turned out, by the admission of its own authors, "a very foolish piece of business."

[22*d March* 1786.] But the principal attention

ernor-General of India, 1786–93; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1798; again appointed Governor-General of India in 1804, and died in India, 5th October 1808.—ED.

was justly directed on that evening towards Burke, who poured out the accumulated stores of his indignation in a tone of such violence as excited astonishment even in him. The eccentricity and luxuriance of his fancy, enriched with classic images and elevated on the stilts of poetry as well as of history, seemed to hurry him out of the ordinary path of debate on this occasion. His spleen was indeed particularly excited by some circumstances which, operating on his very irritable temper, rendered him altogether Pindaric. Among the members of the last and present Parliament who had acted conjointly with Burke in his endeavours to expose and to reform the abuses committed throughout India was Mr. Boughton Rouse,[1] one of the representatives for the borough of Evesham. Having resided many years in Bengal, he possessed great local information respecting the administration of the revenue in that part of our Eastern possessions. Joining to his knowledge much activity and no inconsiderable portion of talent, Burke associated him in 1781 to the labours of the select committee. While he remained a member of that body, Rouse lent his assistance towards the first report made by them to the House, which owed to him some of the most important parts of its composition. But Rouse, after having been thus initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries of Hindostan, had thought proper to withdraw himself from the committee. Perceiving that it was become an instrument of faction, persecution, and private attack, he declined any further attendance on it, ultimately quitting the Coalition and joining Pitt. Nor was he left unremunerated, for when, in 1784, the new East India Board was instituted, Rouse received the appointment of Secretary under the Commissioners. Dundas, by this able man-

[1] Charles William Boughton Rouse.—ED.

œuvre, converted a former opponent into an ally, while Burke considered him as an apostate, who, after being admitted to the consultations of the elect, had gone over to the opposite party.

On the evening to which I allude, the House resolving itself into a committee on Dundas's India Bill, Boughton Rouse took his seat at the table as chairman. This spectacle overcame Burke's patience. To behold one of his ancient associates, who had participated in his investigations of East Indian delinquency, placed in the front of the enemy's forces, was a trial too severe for his temper. He started up, and, after inveighing in terms the most violent against the bill, which he said was "a libel on the liberties and the constitution of England, an experiment to establish a Turkish tyranny throughout our dominions in the East," he addressed himself personally to the chairman. "Little did I ever imagine," exclaimed he, "that I should live to see you, sir, seated at that table performing the part assigned you on the present occasion. I lament that the aid which you formerly lent me, when acting together as members of the select committee, should now end in the erection of a whispering gallery for the Board of Control, which demands auricular confession. Armed, indeed, as that Board will be by the powers which this bill confers on it, we shall witness a perfect imitation of the ear of Dionysius, so detested in antiquity. The bill is a raw head and bloody bones, a new Star Chamber, subverting Magna Charta!" "If," continued he, "Ministers had come down to the House and avowed at once, 'Our plan is despotism,' we should not have tolerated it. Profligacy, indeed, was ready to cry out, 'Give me arbitrary power.' But Hypocrisy more artfully says, 'No! let us circumvent them, and they will by degrees submit to bear a tyranny the men-

tion of which at first would have shaken every fibre in their composition.' And thus an abortion of despotism, like an imperfect fœtus in a bottle, is produced and handed about as a show, till at length the child's navel-strings have burst, and a full-grown monster of tyranny is now brought forth on the table. When Hypocrisy has finished her game, and Profligacy comes in turn to act her part—

> 'Then shall the warlike Harry, like himself,
> Assume the port of Mars; and at his heels,
> Leashed in like hounds, shall Famine, Fire, and Sword
> Crouch for employment.'"

The vehement tone in which this speech was pronounced, when illustrated by the simile of the fœtus held up with both hands, presenting it thus to the eyes of his audience, till it broke out into a full-formed monster of despotism, these images, summoned to his aid like phantoms by the distempered but splendid imagination of Burke, were contemplated by all present with no common admiration. They could not, as Pitt observed in reply, be considered as arguments, nor was it easy to answer and refute such appeals to the fancy. There was, nevertheless, in the citation from Shakespeare applied to Dundas an application so close and felicitous as it would be difficult to parallel. His Christian name was not only Henry, but in general his acquaintances, when speaking of him in familiar conversation, called him Harry Dundas. Fox having panegyrised Burke's beautiful effusion as a masterpiece of eloquence and of reason, adding that "it must be answered, and that he felt anxious to hear how Ministers would repel its force," Pitt came forward. After justifying his own line of conduct and that of Dundas, "With respect to the arguments," continued he, "of which mention has

been made, I cannot pretend to say that I did not hear them, the manner and elevation of voice in which they were delivered rendering that circumstance impossible. But I confess that I do not sufficiently comprehend how they bear upon the question now before the committee, so as to make them any appropriate answer." When, however, the clause empowering the Governor-General, in cases of great emergency, to act without the concurrence of the Supreme Council, came to be debated, Dundas, far from evading its discussion, entered fully on its justification. Alluding to Burke's animated picture of the horrors and atrocities which would flow from it, "Notwithstanding," observed he, "the declamation which we have this evening heard relative to despotism, brilliant and eloquent as I allow it to be, I consider it as the mere flight of a wild and disordered imagination. Previous to accusing us as the abettors of arbitrary government, it behoves our opponents to prove that the dominion of one person is more to be dreaded or is more a despotism than the dominion of two—a position not easy, I believe, to demonstrate."—"The individual to whom is confided the administration becomes indeed invested by the present bill with more authority, but his responsibility is proportionably augmented. Nor can he, in virtue of this clause, commit any act which, with the concurrence of a majority of the council, he could not antecedently have performed." I own that this reasoning, as applied to power conferred in India, appeared to me at the time, and still impresses me, as sound and incontrovertible.

Fox nevertheless endeavoured to demonstrate that the authority given by the bill to the Governor-General must be equally efficient, and might be much more safely intrusted to him conjointly with

the council. Pitt having stated the advantages which would result from the necessity imposed on the members of that board to enter upon their journals the motives and reasons of their dissent, leaving to the Governor-General the right to act on his own responsibility, Fox attacked him in a manner the most personal. "The Minister," said he, "not only defends, but applauds the institution of an inactive council, to whom are solely to be intrusted the powers of arguing and of commemorating their opinions. It is indeed natural for him, whose talent consists in language, and who by his superior eloquence can decorate error with the garb of truth, to commend the art in which he excels, and to depicture the sphere of action as inglorious. Let others act! His ambition is only to debate." This remark, which seems to recall Virgil's

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,"

was not noticed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he replied at great length to every other part of the speech. Did he feel, and, as it were, tacitly admit, the justice of the portrait? Unquestionably it was a likeness, but not drawn by a flattering pencil.

If we impartially examine Pitt's Administration, or, more properly to speak, his two Administrations —which between December 1783 and January 1806 comprised a period of time not falling much short of nineteen years—we shall perhaps incline to agree in opinion with Fox. Eloquence, transcendant eloquence, formed the foundation and the key-stone of Pitt's Ministerial greatness. Every other quality in him was accessory. He possessed indeed many eminent—I might say sublime—endowments, paramount judgment in all matters that concerned his own political preservation, elevation of character,

contempt of money, unspotted integrity, self-command, celerity in business, application, extraordinary financial talents, and the utmost decorum of manners. But he nevertheless failed in action. From 1784 down to 1792, while the winds were comparatively hushed, he acquired a high degree of renown which he did not maintain when the tempest overtook him. He was forced into war early in 1793, more in compliance or subservience, as I believe, to the King's wishes than from his own voluntary and thorough conviction of its good policy, after allowing the favourable moment for attacking France to pass, when, in conjunction with Austria and Prussia during the autumn of 1792, he might perhaps have preserved or restored the monarchy. All his measures throughout the first stages of the French Revolution were better defended in Parliament than concerted in Cabinet. Witness the ill-advised siege of Dunkirk. Witness Sombreuil's[1] more disastrous expedition to Quiberon in 1795. Nor was the attack of Ostend planned with ability. What numbers were sacrificed at St. Domingo! But how shall we speak of the operations carried on at the Helder in 1799, where the carnage of officers exceeded any similar loss sustained since the affair of Bunker's Hill, and where the Duke of York narrowly escaped being carried a prisoner to Paris? Scarcely was the convention of Closter-Seven, one of the most humiliating in our history, more ignominious than the retreat from the Helder. His father was a war Minister. Pitt was not. Neither was Dundas a war Minister. Both were giants on the Treasury bench; men of ordinary dimensions when planning a campaign. Pitt, whatever flattery or friendship

[1] Charles Virot, Vicomte de Sombreuil, a Royalist, was taken prisoner in a descent on France, and shot at Vannes, 28th July 1795.—ED.

may assert, was not "the pilot who weathered the storm." He sustained it, but, far from weathering it, he went down at the helm when the waves ran highest. It was not his hereditary constitutional gout alone which dispatched him before he had completed his forty-seventh year.[1] Two events, one internal, the other foreign, precipitated while they embittered his dissolution. The first was Dundas's impeachment, which proved a vital blow to him. Mack's disastrous campaign following in the autumn of 1805 closed his career.

While I am engaged on this curious subject, as I am conscious that posterity will not take my word on such a point unsustained by better testimony, I shall endeavour to support my assertion by something like proof, though in thus carrying the work at once twenty years forward, from 1786 to 1806, I well know that I violate the common rules of historical composition.

On Friday the 27th of March 1812, Sir Walter Farquhar and I dined with Sir John Macpherson at Brompton Grove near London. No other person was present. After dinner the conversation turning on Pitt's last illness and death, Sir Walter said, "It was by no means the gout that killed him. The fatal campaign of 1805 and the battle of Austerlitz terminated his life. I admit that his stomach was previously debilitated, but the calamities of Austria and Russia overcame him. Lord Melville's unfortunate impeachment and his dismission as First Lord of the Admiralty laid the foundation of Pitt's diseases. When he came up from Bath early in 1806, I went down to him at Salthill and earnestly besought him to remain there, it being so near to Windsor. I represented to him that he could have continual access to the King, and at the same time would

[1] He died at Putney, 13th January 1806.—ED.

breathe a pure air and might see his friends. He would not listen to me, but came on to Putney. Nevertheless, when he arrived there, which was on a Saturday, he mounted the stairs with great agility and went out to take the air in his carriage next day. On Monday the Ministers got to him, and what passed among them I know not, but on the ensuing morning he was so much worse as to excite in me the greatest alarm. He complained that he felt as if his body was cut in two. I strongly urged him not to apply to any public business, a piece of advice which I enforced to the persons about him. Conscious of his danger, I requested that a consultation might be held in his case, offering to fix on any physician that he might like, and to join a third with us. The proposition met with his ready and immediate assent. He named Reynolds,[1] and to him was added Baillie.[2] We met, and having examined his body, we all concurred in thinking that no vital part or function was defective; but from the Tuesday a putrid fever and a thrush manifested themselves. He held out till the Thursday se'nnight, on which day he expired. During the last nine days he lay chiefly on his back, swallowed only lime-water, and became extenuated in mind as well as in body to the greatest degree. I was continually with him, though I was not present when he breathed his last. His faculties sunk with the progress of his disorder and his extreme physical debility." These were nearly Sir Walter's *ipsissima verba*, as I committed them to paper on the very same night, scarcely four hours after they were spoken.

It has always appeared to me that some very strong points of resemblance existed between Pericles and Pitt. Both were during many years the Ministers of a free people. Both long enjoyed ex-

[1] Henry Revell Reynolds, M.D.—ED.
[2] Matthew Baillie, M.D.—ED.

traordinary popularity and corresponding power. If the goddess of Persuasion was said to have placed herself on the lips of Pericles, so did she on those of Pitt. The same fascinating beauty and rotundity of expression were common to both. Disinterestedness and superiority to all personal acquisition alike distinguished them. Pericles had indeed the advantage of inheriting a larger paternal fortune than the English Minister, but he no more increased it at the national expense than did Pitt. Both survived, if not the public favour, yet the public prosperity, and beheld their friends accused or sacrificed to public clamour. The fate of Phidias, Pericles's friend, charged with converting to his own use a part of the gold confided to him for ornamenting the statue of Minerva, bears a striking analogy to Lord Melville's impeachment, founded on his supposed appropriation or alienation of public money. But the Scottish Minister ultimately escaped, while the immortal artist of antiquity perished in prison. Pitt, like Pericles, engaged in a long and disastrous conflict with foreign enemies: the latter when he commenced the Peloponnessian war, the former with revolutionary France. Neither of them survived to witness its termination. The Athenian, after sustaining the severest afflictions and privations in his family, sunk under the attacks of a pestilential malady in the third year of hostilities. The English statesman closed his memorable career precisely at the same period of the renewed struggle against the French republic, or rather against the military despotism of its foreign ruler. Here, indeed, the parallel ends, for Pitt had no Aspasia. It is in Fox's history that we must look for her. In Mrs. Armstead,[1] successively his mistress and his wife, we find

[1] Fox's marriage with Mrs. Armstead was privately performed by special licence, and the date has been given by some as 1794 or 1795, and by others as 1802.—ED.

imperfectly realised the celebrated Ionian courtesan whom Pericles loved and finally espoused.

I return from this digression to the East India Bill, which, notwithstanding all the opposition made to it by Burke and Fox, passed without difficulty. On every division throughout its progress Government carried the question by more than the proportion of two to one. Indeed, I believe not many more than 200 members ever divided on any clause, so feeble an interest did the bill excite, or so convinced was the public that the propositions adopted by Ministers, one of which vested uncontrolled power in the Governor-General under certain regulations, would contribute to the welfare of our territories in the East.

[29*th March* 1786.] I am now arrived in the order of time at that act of Mr. Pitt to which his friends and admirers will naturally point, as constituting the proudest memorial of his political existence, and which even his enemies, if any such there now are, will admit to form a lasting claim to national gratitude. I mean the appropriation of a million sterling annually towards the extinction of the national debt. This patriotic plan long revolved in his mind, and repeatedly announced by him to Parliament, he developed in a manner every way worthy of the conception. The attendance on the occasion was such as the magnitude and importance of the subject might justly challenge, but such as rarely takes place when no division is anticipated or expected. Pitt seemed on that evening to put into action all his powers of captivating, convincing, and subduing his hearers. The rapidity with which he laid open the state of the finances could only be equalled by the luminous manner of conveying his ideas, and the facility, as well as perspicuity, that accompanied all his calculations. The meanest

intellect might follow and comprehend his positions: they were apparently simple and level to every capacity. Having shown the deplorable state into which the public revenue had fallen at the close of the American war, he congratulated the House that an excess of near £900,000, which sum, he said, had now accrued above our annual expenditure, would absolve him from the necessity of laying on more than £100,000 of new taxes, in order to provide the requisite million. In a variety of modes he demonstrated the rapid, certain, and salutary operation of this sinking fund, which he proposed should begin to take effect from the fifth day of the ensuing month of July. "The accumulation to be expected from it would," he added, "in a period not of great extent even as compared with the life of man, but scarcely a day when estimated with the duration of a powerful empire, namely, within the space of about twenty-eight years, amount to such a sum as must leave at least four millions sterling annually free, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state." Towards the conclusion of his speech, having completely laid before his audience every fact requisite for enabling them to form a sound judgment on the proposition, emancipating himself, as it were, from the shackles of arithmetic in which he had been hitherto detained, he burst into a beautiful and animated address to the House. In language of great energy he felicitated them on the auspicious prospect now presented to their view, and exhorted them to secure its realisation by making a permanent provision for the gradual diminution and discharge of the national debt.

Pitt employed considerably more than three hours in pronouncing this memorable discourse, during which time he manifested no symptom of intellectual lassitude or fatigue. Throughout all the financial

calculations which his duty compelled him to make, some of which demanded not only memory but great detail, he used no notes, trusting to his own perfect knowledge of the subject. I believe the most attentive listener could scarcely have detected any instance of error or of oblivion, from its commencement down to its termination; but when he finished, his bodily exhaustion became very apparent. Distinguished as were Lord North's powers while occupied in a similar function, they could not support a comparison with those exhibited by Pitt. There was, indeed, a wide difference between the painful labour of imposing new taxes for the support of an unsuccessful as well as an unpopular war, and the exhilarating privilege of displaying the resources of a great country, reviving from her temporary depression, while she made provision for her future extrication. Such were the opposite tasks imposed on the two Ministers. As Pitt approached the close of his brilliant but laborious exertion, his features brightened and he seemed to taste by anticipation the recompense of his successful toil in the public service. If, indeed, Gray's lines were ever realised when he says—

> "The applause of listening senates to command,
> The threats of pain and ruin to despise;
> To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
> And read their history in a nation's eyes;"—

if ever this picture was personified and presented to human view, we must admit that the Chancellor of the Exchequer exhibited it on that evening. Even if we should now incline to consider the Sinking Fund itself[1] as "a clumsy compound of delusion and

[1] The main feature of Pitt's "Sinking Fund" was that the million a year devoted to the redemption of the national debt should be used for that purpose during war as well as in times of peace. In course

quackery,—for such it has been defined and declared to be by modern financiers of no ordinary attainments,—yet as not only Pitt and Fox, but men of all parties in and out of Parliament, then joined in celebrating and extolling it, we cannot with justice refuse to the Minister of George III. in 1786 the encomiums due to his well-meant effort for sustaining and reinvigorating the foundations of public credit. Perhaps it may occur to those who cherish his memory that he was not permitted to witness even the first term of twenty-eight years, to which he alluded as "not of great extent when compared with the ordinary life of man." Within twenty years from the day when he addressed the House, he had taken his place within the same tomb where reposed his father, at an inconsiderable distance from the scene of his actual triumph; and of him it might be said, as of the youth of Pella—

"Sarcophago contentus erit."

The universal attention which had been concentered upon Pitt while he spoke became liberated when he closed his oration, the floor soon presenting a scene of disorder, noise, and confusion. Cornwall vainly attempted to enforce silence. In the midst of this uproar Sir Grey Cooper, probably acting in concert with Fox, and desirous to allow time for the restoration of tranquillity, commenced a reply to the Minister. Professing his warmest wish to advance the accomplishment of the proposed measure, he nevertheless stated his doubts of its immediate practicability. As soon as the tumult had subsided Fox rose, and after declaring that no

of time the policy of paying off a debt by means of loans came to be doubted, and Lord Grenville, who had originally strongly supported Pitt's proposal, in 1828 denounced in a pamphlet the inutility of a borrowed Sinking Fund.—ED.

individual in that assembly was more friendly to the formation of a sinking fund than himself, he proceeded to dissect the speech just pronounced. With consummate ability, manifesting a profound acquaintance with all the sources of national wealth or prosperity, and disclosing views as enlarged as those of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for retrieving the finances, he did not the less contest almost all Pitt's premises or assumptions. Far from admitting that there existed an actual surplus of revenue to the amount of £900,000, as the Minister asserted, Fox endeavoured to demonstrate the fallacy of any such pretended balance. Nor did he fail to sustain his allegations by proofs drawn either from Pitt's own admissions, or by facts and calculations apparently incontrovertible. He impressed me, indeed, on that occasion—as he did upon every other when questions of finance were agitated or discussed in Parliament during my time—with a conviction that he possessed talents nearly, if not in every respect fully equal to those of Pitt. I am persuaded, if he had been placed at the head of the Treasury and the Exchequer, he would have made as able a First Minister as his rival. Neither do I think that he would have wanted vigilance, application, or integrity. Unfortunately, his habits of life and his want of prudent restraint, particularly where the King was personally concerned; the manner in which he had dissipated his fortune much more than his want of fortune, in which respect Pitt could not pretend to any superiority over him; his chosen companions, many of whom were personally obnoxious to his Majesty; the satirical compositions, in almost all of which the sovereign was held up to ridicule, continually emanating from the friends or members of Opposition; lastly, Fox's avowed devotion to the heir-apparent, whom he had

endeavoured, when he was Secretary of State, to render more independent of his father by giving the Prince £100,000 a year instead of £50,000; these facts or circumstances, and not any inferiority to Pitt in mental endowments of every description, constituted the real impediments to Fox's attainment of power.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer having in the course of his speech announced that the encumbrances upon the Civil List amounted to a sum exceeding £200,000, for which arrear he should speedily move a grant of money, Sheridan attacked him on the subject with equal ability and severity of animadversion. He observed that such an unexpected demand formed a singular introduction to the sinking fund, towards which measure, as founded on a pretended surplus of revenue above our expenditure, the public had been taught to look forward with eager anticipation. Like Fox, he denied that there existed any such balance, except in the illusory calculations or assertions of the Minister, whom he moreover accused of contradicting his former assurances respecting the state of the Civil List. Pitt in reply, not content with imputing to Sheridan an error of memory, added that "such a charge could only arise from a gross misrepresentation of his words." Sheridan nevertheless maintained the accuracy of his statement, appealing to the House against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he said, might indulge as much as he thought proper in charges of misrepresentation. These recriminations did not diminish the triumph of the Minister, whose motion "for granting to commissioners a million sterling, of which one-fourth part should be applied every quarter towards discharging the public debt of the country," passed unanimously. Even though it could have been demon-

strated that Pitt's calculations were exaggerated, yet the principle of appropriating an annual portion of the revenue towards the gradual liquidation of the national debt was in itself entitled to universal approbation. No measure could more contribute to augment his popularity, and consequently to strengthen his tenure of office.

[30*th March* 1786.] An interesting debate took place at this time, which exhibited in a conspicuous light the change that had been effected in public opinion upon points materially affecting the British constitution within the four preceding years. After the close of Lord North's Administration, the spirit of reform, conducted by Burke, and under him by Mr. Crewe and Sir Philip Clerke, had made gigantic inroads on the royal household. Marsham, one of the representatives for the county of Kent, who had taken so prominent a share, in conjunction with Powis, during the early part of Pitt's entry on employment, now attempted to extend the disqualifying enactments of Mr. Crewe's bill to all voters employed by the Navy and Ordnance Boards. But he soon discovered that Ministers were no longer favourable to such propositions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, while he admitted that he had voted for Mr. Crewe's bill, a vote of which he said he by no means repented, yet professed his determination to resist any further innovation. The times, he maintained, were altogether changed since the House had come to a resolution that "the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." Fox having attacked him on this tergiversation or change of opinion, the Minister was defended by Lord Mulgrave. He invidiously observed that "their two characters were before the public, who would decide on their respective merits as candidates for power." Then

referring to the conduct of the Admiralty Board towards persons employed in the dockyards, which had formed a principal point of accusation against Government, he demanded, "Who ever dared to grant or to deny preferment to a workman merely on account of his election interest? The man that dared so to act ought to lose his head." Dundas being likewise compelled by some allusions made to similar interference in Scotland among the workmen in the dockyards of that kingdom, reprobated Mr. Crewe's bill in terms of contemptuous levity. "I defy," exclaimed he, "any man to stand up and show his face boldly in defence of such a proposition, which attempts to fix a stigma on a number of individuals merely because they are employed in his Majesty's service. But it appears to me that whenever gentlemen are out of place they conceive it necessary, in order to amuse the public, to serve up in this House a dish of disfranchisements."

Such was the state of the discussion when Sheridan took part in it, levelling his first strokes at Dundas. "Truly," observed he, "may that learned gentleman assert that he never maintains any position without being ready to show his face boldly at the same time, for I believe the House will agree with me in admitting that he never advances an argument, however irreconcilable to reason it may be, on which he is not prepared to put a good countenance. With respect to his dish of disfranchisements, he cannot surely have forgotten that he was first induced to nibble a little at a side-dish, and afterwards prevailed on to sit down to a whole course of those ingredients at the time when his friend near him served up his grand entertainment of parliamentary reform. The principal object of that reform was expressly to disfranchise, not merely a particular class of men, but a numerous body of

voters from many different boroughs." Pitt contradicting him across the table and flatly denying the fact, because it was intended to remunerate them, Sheridan, wholly unmoved, resumed his speech. "I thank the right honourable gentleman," he said, "for his correction. I now recollect that the people were to be paid for relinquishing their franchises, which still better accords with my argument, because every one knows that where money is in the case the learned gentleman will be better pleased. Is it, however, possible to state any proposition more unconstitutional or more repugnant to freedom than that of purchasing with a bribe the unalienable right of voting at elections?" Having made these severe and personal observations on the two Ministers, he turned to Lord Mulgrave, who sat near them. "The noble Lord," continued Sheridan, "has remarked, when alluding to the treatment of persons employed in the dockyards, that any man who should use the influence of the crown for the purpose of obtaining a vote deserved to lose his head." Lord Mulgrave immediately rising, denied that the words were accurately cited, as he had said, "*ought* to lose his head." Not more disconcerted at this second interruption than he had been by the first, Sheridan, without altering a muscle of his countenance, only observed, "I am happy to find that the expression used was '*ought*,' because, if it had been '*would* have lost his head,' the learned gentleman seated on the Treasury bench would not have had on this evening a face to have shown among us."

We must admit that it appears hardly possible to compress more wit into a smaller compass than is exhibited in this speech. No other individual among the Opposition possessed the same talent combined with good-humour in a similar degree. Burke displayed, indeed, at times the utmost bril-

liancy of fancy, enriched from every source of ancient or of modern learning, but he wanted Sheridan's suavity, self-command, and imperturbability. Even Fox did not manifest the same playful gaiety which extorted a smile from the very individual who experienced its severity. Sheridan received from Nature the faculty of delighting and inserting the lancet at the same instant. So, it may be said, did Lord North. Nor can it be denied but that most amiable nobleman had already played his part on the theatre of Parliament and of public life. Neither his health nor the recollection of the great offices that he had once filled in that assembly allowed him to attend in his place except on occasions of emergency. Courtenay approached nearer to Sheridan than any man on the Opposition benches. He wanted nevertheless the nice touch of the author of the "School for Scandal." Courtenay might be said to bear to Sheridan the place and the analogy which is found in antiquity between the two great Roman satirists—one the elegant writer of the Augustan age; the other, formed of coarser and bolder materials, to lash the vices of the time of Domitian. Sheridan's wit extorted no reply from Ministers. Pitt, Dundas, and Lord Mulgrave all preserved silence. The division, however, supplied every deficiency, Marsham's motion being negatived by nearly three to one. It became evident that the spirit of reform was far on its decline. In 1782 the proposition would have been carried almost without debate or opposition.

Among the individuals who spoke against it on that evening was Sir Charles Middleton, Comptroller of the Navy and member for Rochester. I principally mention him here because he forms the most extraordinary instance of the power of that goddess whose divinity is denied by Juvenal which can be

found throughout the long reign of George III. He possessed plain sound sense, an unexceptionable moral character, and high professional merit, having risen with distinction to the rank of an admiral, and having likewise been created a baronet as early as the year 1781. Down to 1791 he continued to occupy the post of Comptroller of the Navy, which he quitted with great reputation, retiring from public life and service to his seat at Barham in Kent. His career of ambition seemed to be then terminated. But Fortune manifested in his person her empire over human affairs. Lord Melville being impeached in the spring of 1805 and thereby rendered incapable of longer remaining at the head of the Admiralty, it became necessary without loss of time to supply the vacancy. Nor was the selection easy, since, on one hand, the person chosen to fill so important a department in a time of imminent national danger was required to possess conspicuous recognised ability in the line of his profession, united, on the other, with the most steady as well as implicit adherence to Ministers. These qualities were found in Sir Charles Middleton.[1] He joined to them a third recommendation, his mother, Helen Dundas, having been a relative of Lord Melville. I believe they stood in the degree of second cousins to each other. Sir Charles Middleton, who many years earlier, at the age of sixty-five, had retreated from official life, and who little expected to be called back to it, found himself at seventy-nine summoned to fill the high post from which his friend was driven. His advanced age formed no impediment, as his faculties remained unimpaired. The dignity of a privy councillor and a Cabinet Minister, the British peerage,

[1] Admiral Sir Charles Middleton, Bart., succeeded Lord Melville as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1805, and was created Baron Barham. —ED.

with remainder to his daughter,[1] he having no male issue, together with the office of First Lord of the Admiralty—all these honours and emoluments extended themselves at the feet of a man verging towards fourscore. He proved himself not unworthy of them. He continued, indeed, only about nine or ten months in his elevated situation, but during that short period took place the illustrious victory of Trafalgar. Lord Barham survived till the year 1813, dying at the very protracted period of eighty-seven years. Edwin Lascelles, Sir James Peachey, and Welbore Ellis[2] had all passed their seventieth year when respectively sent up to the House of Lords. But they form no parallel to the instance before us, which, considered under its various aspects, may not be again realised in the lapse of many ages.

[*April* 1786.] Burke, in bringing forward the impeachment of Hastings, was actuated by some of the most elevated, but likewise by some of the least commendable, motives or feelings that can meet in man. He always reminded me of the image which Nebuchadnezzar sees in his dream recorded by the prophet Daniel, "whose brightness was excellent," and whose "head was of fine gold," but whose "feet were part of iron and part of clay." Great inconsistencies and contradictions unquestionably met in Burke. Like the celebrated Bishop of Chiapa, whose life was passed in efforts to ameliorate the condition of the natives of the New World, and to bring to justice the Spaniards who tyrannised or massacred them, so Burke during many years endeavoured to rescue the inhabitants of Hindostan from British

[1] Diana, married to Gerard Noel, nephew of the Earl of Gainsborough.—D.

[2] Lascelles, Earl of Harewood; Peachey, Baron Selsey; and Welbore Ellis, Baron Mendip. The Lascelles family had already belonged to the peerage. The old barony of Lascelles became extinct in 1296.—D.

severities or extortions. Nor do I mean to deny that he was impelled by very benign and enlarged principles, but they became mingled in their course with much infirmity. His resentments, enmities, and prejudices, assuming the appearance of virtue, often obscured his judgment, irritated his temper, and rendered him frequently inaccessible to candour or to reason. Even his private pecuniary embarrassments contributed to sharpen his disposition. The Pay Office, which he had twice occupied without retaining it beyond a few months, had left painful recollections in his mind. I believe the Marquis of Rockingham did not bequeath him any testamentary mark of regard except cancelling the sum due to him from Burke. Old age was fast advancing, and no prospect of a return to power presented itself. Though he was not encumbered with a numerous family, yet he had one son, in whom he beheld every virtue and every talent, while other persons saw in him only a young man of common ability. For his advancement and establishment in life Burke felt intense anxiety. All these circumstances combined to bereave him of that complacency and suavity which office, prosperity, and wealth are formed to produce. If the Coalition Administration had retained possession of the Government, and of course Burke had continued to occupy Rigby's place with its splendid emoluments, Hastings would undoubtedly have been recalled with marks of Ministerial censure; but I greatly question whether the Paymaster of the Forces would, in opposition to the King's opinions, have drawn up and presented articles of impeachment against him. We have seen how easily Burke was induced to lay aside his intentions of impeaching Lord North in 1782 as soon as that nobleman relinquished his place.

Yet if Hastings had oppressed, he had not lost an empire.

Fox, in lending his powerful co-operation towards the prosecution, participated in no degree the antipathies of Burke: he was composed of more malleable materials. Exclusion from place, aggravated by poverty, had neither rendered him bitter nor implacable. But during successive years he had been accustomed to declaim against Hastings, whose policy he considered as ambitious, imbued with the spirit of conquest, oppressive, and even sanguinary in certain instances. He could not retract his declarations on these points, even if he had wished to do it. As little could he abandon Burke or leave him unaided to carry on the impeachment. Such a line of conduct, which must have divided them for ever, would have produced a fatal schism in the party. It was, moreover, evident that whichever side Ministers took, whether they protected or sacrificed Hastings, they must encounter great embarrassments. By sheltering him they would incur the odium of shielding from inquiry and punishment a great public functionary accused of enormous crimes. By delivering up to the rage of his enemies a man who had preserved India at the very time when we lost America, and of whose public merits the King entertained so high an opinion, they might risk the royal displeasure with all its consequences. Fox himself had been wrecked by the East India Bill, and Pitt might commit a similar error. These motives, as I have always conceived, more than any thorough conviction of Hastings's criminality, propelled Fox to support the impeachment. Hastings himself, as I know, was fully persuaded that Fox had said, "I would rather be the defender than the accuser of the late Governor-General." Even though he should, how-

ever, have uttered such a sentiment, which is very possible—for he was often imprudent and unguarded —yet it would prove nothing in the present question. But I am nevertheless of opinion that if Lord Pigot or Lord Macartney, with both of whom Fox was intimately connected, had been accused, as Governors of Madras, with the commission of acts similar to those attributed to Hastings, instead of joining to prosecute and punish, he would, as far as in him lay, have extended to them assistance and protection.

No man could doubt, after Sheridan's own confession, made in the House of Commons, scarcely four weeks earlier, that he would willingly have extended impunity and oblivion to Hastings. His own principles of moral action were too relaxed to impel him on a parliamentary prosecution for measures which, even if culpable, were adopted under circumstances of great public exigency, where the existence of our East India dominions was at stake. In bending all the charms of his persuasive eloquence, as he did, to prove Hastings's criminality before his judges in Westminster Hall, Sheridan only acted from a spirit of party, sustained by attachment to Fox. Probably he was not insensible to the display of his talents, likewise, on such a theatre, before an audience composed of both sexes, including all that was dignified in Great Britain. But Sheridan partook neither of the elevated feelings of Burke, nor had imbibed his prejudices, nor was actuated by his personal resentments.

Widely different were the motives which impelled Francis. In his bosom appeared to be concentered all the hostile recollections which our nature can cherish against any individual. During successive years he had, in concert with Clavering and Monson, opposed Hastings's measures in Bengal. After

the decease of his two colleagues in the Supreme Council, he had continued the same systematic resistance to the Governor-General. Private enmity became superadded to political difference of opinion; they went out, fought, and Francis was wounded. Time seemed to have diffused no balm into the wound; it remained still fresh as on the day when it had been inflicted. His own words, on the supposition that Francis was "Junius," addressed to Sir William Draper, might be justly applied to himself: "If I understand your character," says "Junius," "there is in your own breast a repository in which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions, and preserved without the hazard of diminution." With equal truth it might have been maintained of Francis that all his animosities lived and breathed in his speeches, unallayed by the lapse of years. Nor could he plead, like Burke, that poverty had chilled his blood or rendered it acrimonious. Francis brought home from the East a very ample, or rather a splendid competence; and while Burke occupied, when in London, a small lodging in Charles Street, St. James's Square, Francis inhabited a house in Upper Harley Street, from which he subsequently removed to a noble mansion in St. James's Square. Such was the difference which fortune had established between these two distinguished men. I never accounted Lord North among the number of Hastings's prosecutors, though he lent his name to the impeachment.

[*5th and 6th April* 1786.] Two conversations, rather than debates, took place at this time relative to the deficiency in the Civil List, which amounted, as I have already observed, to more than £200,000. Powis, after commenting with asperity on the causes that had produced such a debt, mentioned the expensive and inefficient embassy of Lord Chester-

field as meriting reprehension. It appeared that no less a sum than £25,000 had been expended on that useless and premature appointment. Nor did Eden's mission to Paris escape censure, though every part of the House joined with the Minister in acknowledging his aptitude for such a negotiation. Sheridan and Fox availed themselves of the occasion for bringing to public notice the establishment of the Prince of Wales, no doubt with a view to sound the inclinations of Parliament upon the subject. They represented that £50,000 a year constituted an income utterly inadequate to supporting his dignity. "In touching on a matter of such delicacy," observed Fox, "it is not so much from motives of gratitude for the confidence with which that royal personage honours me, nor from the affection excited by his amiable qualities, as from my conviction that the dignity of the crown, and even the national advantage, require that the heir-apparent should be enabled to live not merely in ease, but in splendour. Under George I., when the Civil List amounted only to £700,000 a year, the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II., had an allowance of £100,000; and now, when, in consequence of the suppressions made in the King's household, the Civil List may be fairly estimated at £950,000 a year, only £50,000 are given to the Prince of Wales. If his Majesty, as is evident by the demand of this evening, cannot make the former sum cover his expenses, how can it be expected that his Royal Highness is to live upon the last-mentioned income? I well know that the late Prince of Wales, Frederick, had at first no larger establishment; but it was soon augmented, and the expenses of every article of life are prodigiously increased since that period."

These facts and arguments, which appeared to

me at the time, and still impress me as full of weight, made no impression on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Entrenching himself behind the throne, he replied that "he was not instructed to make any communication to the House respecting the branches of the royal family, and that he should avoid the presumption of expressing any private opinion upon the subject." Not a single county member nor country gentleman of any description rose to support Fox's representations. One individual only, Alderman Newnham,[1] a member for the City of London, stated his conviction that the sum allowed to the heir-apparent was universally regarded as unequal to the maintenance of his dignity. Fox, at the conclusion of his speech, admitted that the only becoming mode of bringing the business before the House would be by a message from the crown. "I hope," added he, "that Ministers will so advise his Majesty; but if they do not, I pledge myself that I will, in some shape or other, before the end of the session, lay the matter before this assembly." Pitt remained silent. Unquestionably an economical Prince of Wales, or a Prince of Wales deeply penetrated with a sense of his duties, might have subsisted on the allowance made him, however unequal it was to a display of magnificence. But Carlton House exhibited a perpetual scene of excess, unrestrained by any wise superintendence. Entertainments of the most expensive description, architectural decorations and embellishments made on a scale of extraordinary splendour, these gratifications demanded adequate funds for their support. A large debt began to accumulate, which speedily subjected his Royal Highness to many of the inconveniences, and to some of the disgraces incurred by

[1] Nathaniel Newnham was Lord Mayor in 1782. He died in poverty.—ED.

ordinary debtors. His friends and adherents filled the capital with complaints of the inadequate allowance made him; but the King, who well knew that an augmentation of his income would only tend to strengthen the hands of Opposition, and who perhaps suspected that some part of it might find its way into the pockets of Fox or of Sheridan, remained inflexible on the subject.

[*11th and 12th April* 1786.] No individual connected with Government performed during the course of the session a more important, useful, and conspicuous part than Jenkinson. I do not except the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself from this observation. Jenkinson could support, indeed, no comparison whatever with Pitt in eloquence, but his intimate knowledge of trade, matured by experience and by communication with every source of information, rendered him an invaluable support to Ministers. The cry of secret influence, which during Lord North's Administration made Jenkinson unpopular, had become almost extinct, while his talents rose every day in the public estimation. Before the end of March he brought forward a proposition for regulating the Newfoundland fishery, an object become doubly valuable to Great Britain since our recent loss of the Transatlantic colonies. In developing the actual state of that branch of national wealth, and defining the principles on which alone it could henceforward be retained against the rivalries of other nations, he showed his profound acquaintance with the subject. Instructed by the recent emancipation of America, he pointed out the danger of colonising Newfoundland, which, if treated as a colony, he said, would infallibly follow in a few years the example of New England, recommending an opposite system of policy as the only mode of preserving the fisheries. Sir Grey Cooper,

who since Eden's defection supplied in some measure his place, not only concurred on every point with Jenkinson, but passed the highest encomiums on his sound views of commercial prosperity. No opposition arose from any part of the House.

Previous to the Easter recess he exhibited two other equally striking proofs of ability. The first of these propositions, which had for its object a revisal of the trade and navigation laws, enabled him to display a wonderful extent of information. Having traced the origin and progress of those laws, their operation on our commerce, and their present defects, he finally suggested the alterations necessary to be made in the system. His views and reflections were equally enlarged as they were consoling to the nation. "If proper means," he observed, "could be devised for securing to Great Britain the navigation trade, though we had recently lost a vast dominion in America, we might almost be said to have gained an empire." All his plans appeared to be so beneficial, and he manifested so much readiness to submit them to the severest examination, not only of the House but of every merchant in the kingdom, previous to their final adoption, that they experienced no impediment. The last proof of talent exhibited by Jenkinson at this time was in laying open the state of the Greenland fishery, which he performed in the same lucid, well-digested, and perspicuous manner, accompanied with details of the most minute description. The measure that he proposed, though it gave rise to a long discussion, yet was adopted by a large majority. It was not, indeed, from Fox, or from Fox's friends, that any objections to the plan arose. The doubts started came from other quarters, and originated principally in local feelings or prejudices. Jenkinson's abilities extorted universal respect, and rendered it evident

that the favour which he had enjoyed during so many years at St. James's reposed on better foundations than the servile assiduities of a courtier or the capricious predilection of a king.

[*26th April* 1786.] The impeachment of Hastings now began to engage and absorb universal attention. Burke having delivered in two more charges against him, and promising to produce others without loss of time, Major Scott instantly presented a petition on the part of the late Governor-General. Its object, which was "to obtain the permission of being heard in his defence against the several articles, and to be allowed a copy of them," gave rise to a most animated debate. Conclusions diametrically opposite were drawn by Fox and by Pitt from the same premises, the latter expressing his assent to the prayer of the petition, as founded on precedents extracted from the Journals. Fox, though he did not oppose the motion for hearing Hastings in his defence, yet loudly inveighed against granting him copies of the charges. While this contest took place, a sort of episode suddenly diverted during a considerable time the attention of the assembly from Hastings to an unexpected quarter. Martin, member for Tewkesbury, a man whom I have already had occasion more than once to mention, whose views were confined, but always inflexibly upright, interposed in the discussion. "I have not as yet, Mr. Speaker," said he, "made up my mind on the present subject, but whenever this prosecution shall be disposed of, there still remains one to be undertaken in justice to the country. I allude to the noble Lord in the blue riband, who has repeatedly challenged inquiry. I have long thought that such an inquiry ought to be instituted. So unfortunate, however, has been the state of party during several years, that the noble Lord well knows

he may bid the country do that which the dignity of this House and my respect for them prohibits me from mentioning within these walls." Lord North, on ordinary occasions, would probably have met the attack of Martin with his characteristic wit and humour, weapons which he had always at command, and with which he had already gently chastised his present adversary, to the no small entertainment of the audience, when formerly assailed by him on the same topic. But the affront was conveyed in words so indecorous as induced him to prefer a more grave reply. Rising as soon as Martin finished, he complained that "allusions made in gross and vulgar language" should thus be reiterated, equally unworthy of the House to hear and indecent on the part of the individual by whom they were uttered. He then called on men of every description to say whether the majority of that House, the actual Ministers, or any of the great authorities in existence, could be considered so partial to him as to shield him from impeachment if he merited it. The weapon which Lord North disdained or declined to use Burke however took up, wielding it with equal ease and effect. "I sincerely wish," observed he, "that the bird who uniformly sings one and the same tune would take it in a gentler key. The cuckoo's note, I grant, is uniform, but it is gentle. Now, though the bird in question can sing only one note, and that note, like the cuckoo's, ungracious to the married Coalition ear, yet the House will thank him for correcting the harshness of his song, and for giving it in a milder tone."

Having by this pleasantry turned the laugh against Martin, Burke resumed his serious demeanour. "As to the prosecution of the noble Lord seated near me," continued he, "whatever I might have

once intended, I should not now be prompt to impeach a person whom I am so happy as to rank among my friends. Besides, when I look opposite and see the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has declared systematically against all retrospect on other national concerns, I dare not undertake it, especially on beholding the two powerful supporters between whom he is placed this evening." Dundas sat on Pitt's right hand and Jenkinson on his left. "Three such opponents would awe me into silence. I will, however, confess that, thinking the measures pursued during the contest with America dangerous to the constitution and pernicious, I had at one time drawn up seven distinct articles of impeachment. But only one among them in any degree affected the noble Lord. When I found the system relinquished, I forgot the past evils. The Marquis of Rockingham indeed advised me to abandon all idea of impeachment, and took from me the papers. I have since vainly endeavoured to find them." In the disclosure thus made relative to Lord Rockingham, much secret history was divulged. It became evident that Burke's patron saw the impossibility of separating the sovereign from his Minister, George III. from Lord North. In fact, every man of common information knew that the American war was waged and maintained by his Majesty far more than by his Ministers. He supported and propelled the Cabinet, who, on the other hand, had good experience of his firmness. An attempt, therefore, to bring Lord North, or Lord George Germaine, or the Earl of Sandwich to the block, must have rent in pieces the whole frame of Lord Rockingham's Government. For the King would never have imitated the example of Charles I. towards Lord Strafford. His principles would not have allowed him to incur his own reprobation or contempt. This

fact the Marquis well knew, as he did equally Burke's violence and intractability. In order, therefore, to disarm a man whom he could not altogether govern by reason or control by authority, he got possession of the papers in question, which he subsequently withheld or destroyed. If Fox and Burke had possessed the Marquis's prudence combined with his moderation, they might not have passed nearly their whole lives on the Opposition bench.

It being at length carried without any division that Hastings should be heard in his defence, and that copies of the charges should be granted him, a new debate arose respecting the mode and order of proceeding. Kenyon strongly maintained that the House ought not to advance another step in the prosecution till the late Governor-General had been brought before them; while Jenkinson, who hitherto could only be said to have taken an indirect part in his favour, now rising, decidedly objected to the reception of evidence. Thus opposed, Burke gave way to all the acrimony and irritation of his character. He who, when Lord North was attacked by Martin, could call ridicule to his aid and press into his service Shakespeare's "cuckoo song," let loose upon Kenyon and Jenkinson the utmost efforts of his indignation. "The learned gentleman," exclaimed he, addressing his observations to the Master of the Rolls, "may repeat his practice of embarrassing the discussion, of varying his opinion and suggesting different advice according to circumstances; I will not abandon the cause. I consider one arm as already lopped off. If I lose a leg, I will nevertheless persevere. Even if deprived of both, I will fight like Witherington on my stumps."[1] Towards

[1] "For when his leggs were smitten off,
He fought upon his stumpes."
—*Modern Ballad of Chevy Chace* (Percy's Reliques, Series i. Book 3).—ED.

Jenkinson he was still more personal. "Judging from all that I have heard on the present evening," said Burke, "I fear it is intended to quash the prosecution. It is indeed evident, by the language of a gentleman who is commonly supposed to have been the sinister adviser of his Majesty—though I by no means assert the fact, or that he ever offered other than good advice—it is, however, evident that one half of my charges are already struck with the dead palsy."—"The failure of the charges is impossible. They contain matter which no sophistry can defeat. If, therefore, the House shall think proper to crush the proceeding, the disgrace will be theirs and not mine. I have done my duty, and disabled as I may be, I will persevere."

Such was the state of the discussion when two gentlemen of the long robe successively addressed the House. The first, Bearcroft, though encumbered with a mass of flesh, possessed great intellectual powers, and looked forward confidently to the highest honours of his profession, which he would probably have reached if his career had not been cut short by death.[1] Viewing the case not through the optics of a moralist, but with the eye of a statesman, he endeavoured to convince his audience that the late Governor-General might prove the accusations to be altogether irrelevant or at least destitute of criminality. Widely opposite were the opinions delivered by Hardinge,[2] Solicitor-General to the Queen, who having denied that the charges were in any degree unintelligible, while at the same time he admitted that they were diffuse; "With respect,"

[1] Edward Bearcroft was Chief-Justice of Chester and M.P. for Hindon.—ED.

[2] George Hardinge, born, 1744; died, 1816; Solicitor-General to the Queen, 1783; Attorney-General to the Queen, 1789. He was Senior Justice of the counties of Brecon, Glamorgan, and Radnor.—ED.

continued he, "to the argument, that even although imputations so serious could be proved, yet they might and would be overbalanced by the public services of the accused person, I can subscribe to no such doctrine. Never will I admit the justification which in technical phrase is denominated a set-off, to form any legitimate defence. In cases of a criminal nature, or where specific delinquency can be proved, no set-off will satisfy my mind. I remember many years ago a proceeding similar to the present, in which the sort of balance now pleaded was successfully urged, but greatly, in my opinion, to the disgrace of this assembly. The case to which I allude was that prosecution commenced against an individual of high rank and character at the time, and who, though now no more, yet still maintains a great name in the world. The facts, and those too of an enormous description, were proved. But an honourable General and a noble Lord have yet an account to settle for having admitted the whole to be done away by a set-off. I date from that circumstance every event which has since taken place injurious to the national character in the East." This most pointed allusion to Lord North's and General Burgoyne's conduct when Lord Clive was criminally attacked in the House, produced no ordinary sensation, they both being present, but it did not provoke from either of them any notice or reply. On the division it was nevertheless determined to hear no more witnesses till Hastings should have appeared at the bar. It would be nugatory to deny that Hardinge's opinions were not merely heard with respect, but sank deep into the public mind. All those persons who considered Hastings's actions as amenable to the bar of private conscience or to parliamentary inquiry, rather than as measures of state which circum-

stances authorised, necessarily adopted the standard of moral rectitude and justice as the only criterion of his future acquittal or condemnation.

[*1st May* 1786.] These preliminary steps being adjusted, Mr. Hastings made his appearance before the House. Curiosity, stimulated by enmity or by friendship in many individuals, procured on the occasion a very numerous attendance. His entrance excited a strong and a general emotion. It was to me a painful spectacle to behold a man who during twelve years had governed the rich and extensive provinces of Asia from the mouths of the Ganges to Delhi, and who, without a metaphor, might be said to have occupied the throne of Timur, now, when his period of life seemed to demand repose, and when he might have anticipated honours or rewards, dragged before a popular assembly there to defend himself against impeachment. His person, if not dignified, was interesting, and his look commanding, as if accustomed to power. In thus pleading before the Commons, he lost the advantage enjoyed by Lord Clive and by Rumbold, who being both members of the assembly which instituted an inquiry into their public conduct, could mix personally with their accusers, reply to their allegations on the moment, and correct or efface any unjust imputation. Lord Clive had, moreover, secured in Wedderburn an advocate of consummate parliamentary as well as legal talents. Nor did Sir Thomas Rumbold want a powerful supporter in the person of Rigby, who, though then no longer Paymaster of the Forces, yet well knew the modes of softening animosities and of dexterously removing prejudices. Lord Mansfield, the Archbishop of York, the Chancellor, and many other persons of the highest rank or consideration strongly attached to Hastings, whatever services they could render

him elsewhere, became powerless in the House of Commons. Jenkinson, Kenyon, and Bearcroft might, indeed, each be regarded as friendly, but they wanted the personal stimulus by which Wedderburn and Rigby had been propelled. All these circumstances were not duly weighed by the advisers of the Governor-General, who, having passed his best years out of his native country, knew London and Parliament only by description.

Burke always endeavoured to establish a similarity between the prætor of Sicily accused by Cicero and the Governor-General impeached by himself. It would, however, have been much easier to demonstrate the contrast exhibited by the two individuals. Verres was brought before the Roman senate by the Sicilians themselves for acts of rapine and oppression. Hastings had quitted India amidst the affectionate approbation of all ranks, Asiatic as well as European. Verres returned to Rome laden with wealth, of which he expended a considerable portion in procuring defenders. Hastings revisited England, not indeed poor, but with only a moderate competence; while Barwell, though only a contemporary member of the Supreme Council, had amassed some hundred thousands. Even Francis was a far richer man than the Governor-General. The acts of rapacity or extortion committed by the Roman were perpetrated from base and sordid motives, while the Englishman, even in those fines which he imposed or levied on the princes of Hindostan, carried the sums so raised into the Company's treasury. Lastly, Verres, conscious of his enormities, and anticipating his final condemnation, dared not abide the issue of his trial, but quitting Italy, became an exile. Hastings, on the contrary, after presenting for many years a political mark, against which the greatest talents and

eloquence of the country directed its keenest shafts, was acquitted by his judges. Between Verres and Rumbold it will be readily admitted that there existed great analogy. If we would seek in antiquity any case bearing a strong resemblance to that of Hastings among us, we must remount more than four centuries beyond the Christian era. Pericles, accused of mismanagement in conducting the military and civil affairs of Athens intrusted to his guidance, pleading his cause before the Athenian people, presents some points that recall to our minds the Governor-General of Bengal. On the present occasion every mark of attention and consideration was shown by the House of Commons to Hastings compatible with the forms of that assembly. He was allowed a chair, and a son of the Archbishop of York, who had formerly been resident at Benares, attended on him for the purpose of supplying him with the documents or papers requisite to his justification. In reply to his request of being permitted to assist his memory by reading his answer to the charges exhibited, the Speaker informed him that he was at liberty to avail himself of any aid which he might judge necessary for his defence.

Having first returned his acknowledgments to the House for their indulgence in hearing him at so early a stage of the prosecution, he then proceeded to read his exculpation. But its effect on a popular assembly accustomed to splendid displays of eloquence was tame and tedious after the lapse of the first hour. He began by remarking on the singularity of the present proceeding, instituted against a man who had received from his employers the most unequivocal and flattering testimonies of their satisfaction. "I left Bengal," said he, "followed by the loudest proofs of universal gratitude, and since I landed in England I have had the unani-

mous thanks of the Court of Directors for my services of five-and-thirty years. Furnished with such proofs of the approbation of those for whose benefit I had conducted the affairs of India, it did not occur to my mind that any other person could urge an accusation against me. Much less did I conceive that high crimes and misdemeanours could be alleged in this House as grounds for my impeachment before the peers. Doubtless in the course of my administration I have committed many errors, but I have endeavoured so to conduct the government of India that it might prove beneficial to the Company at home, while it diffused repose and felicity abroad. I am conscious that by standing forward as I now do I may furnish proofs of my own misconduct. If, however, it is desirable to disclose the facts and measures that took place while I held the first office in Bengal, I wish to make the disclosure in this manner, whatever personal disadvantages may accrue from it to my cause during the course of the present proceedings."

When Hastings had concluded his general observations on the prosecution, he produced separate answers to each of the charges. But as his own powers became unequal to a long continuance of such exertion, he soon availed himself of Mr. Markham's assistance. After more than five hours had been thus employed, during which time a considerable diminution took place in the number of auditors, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an adjournment. On the ensuing day Hastings resumed his defence, which being terminated, he was desired to withdraw. Burke then briefly addressed the House, deprecating any comment on the recent justification as altogether premature, but recommending to every individual present a deliberate perusal of the whole proceeding. Not a word was uttered in reply. It

may justly be questioned whether Hastings was well advised in desiring to be heard at the bar. In fact, he derived no advantage from his personal appearance. How, indeed, could he expect to produce conviction in the minds of an assembly whose members possessed collectively so imperfect a knowledge of the country, policy, or government of Hindostan, to whom neither the Rohillas, nor the Rajah of Benares, nor the Nabob of Oude conveyed any definite idea? Hastings's friends amounted only to an inconsiderable number, not exceeding probably seventy, though if Ministers joined them no doubt could be entertained of the charges being rejected by a great majority. But how would Pitt and Dundas act? What criterion of merit or demerit, of crime or of innocence, would they adopt? Would they judge on the general principles or on detached features of the Governor-General's public conduct? Would Bearcroft's or Hardinge's standard be preferred? On these points profound ignorance prevailed. Hastings's adherents, relying nevertheless on the favourable sentiments hitherto exhibited or expressed by Pitt towards him on various occasions, anticipated with sanguine hopes that whenever the separate charges should be brought forward the Minister would take a decided part in his behalf. A short time demonstrated how erroneously they had embraced these opinions.

[*May* 1786.] London presented during the spring of 1786 a scene of general dissipation at the west end of the town. All the gloom which the disasters of the American war had diffused during successive years over the capital seemed to have dispersed like a dream. The Prince of Wales, then in the prime of youth, led the way in every species of pleasure and in many species of excess. His father, aware of the injury which such an example might

produce among the younger branches of his family, had early removed his second and third sons from England: Prince Frederick[1] being sent in December 1781 to Hanover, while William Henry,[2] bred to the navy, pursued his professional career at a distance from his native country. Mrs. Fitzherbert, commonly regarded, if not as the heir-apparent's wife, yet as united to him by a ceremony substituted in place of a legal marriage, received in all companies the consideration and respect which the sanctity of such a supposed connection was calculated to inspire. I have already mentioned that she was in her second widowhood when she became known to him. It is a curious fact that Edward the Black Prince espoused a lady who, like Mrs. Fitzherbert, had previously given her hand to two husbands. "The fair maid of Kent," as she was denominated, mother of Richard II., stood in that predicament. There appears, indeed, to have been among the kings, and in the royal family of England, an extraordinary predilection for widows. Not to mention the unfortunate consort of Edward IV. and Henry VIII.'s last queen, the three uncles of the Prince of Wales all either avowedly or secretly acted the same part. I know that Lady Mary Coke considered herself united to Edward, Duke of York, who died in 1767 at Monaco, by as legitimate a union as the Duchesses of Gloucester or of Cumberland were united to their respective husbands. She was, indeed, much higher born than Miss Walpole or Miss Luttrell, being daughter of John, the celebrated Duke of Argyle,[3] and she possessed extraordinary personal beauty. At more than seventy years of age, when I have

[1] Afterwards Duke of York.—ED.

[2] Afterwards Duke of Clarence and King William IV.—ED.

[3] Lady Mary Campbell, daughter and co-heir of John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, married in 1747 Edward Viscount Coke, who died in 1753.—ED.

been in company with her, she preserved the cheerfulness and vivacity of youth.

Cumberland House in Pall-Mall (now the Department of the Ordnance) might then be considered as the central point of elegant amusement in the metropolis.[1] The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, after passing some years on the Continent, principally at Avignon, with a view to the re-establishment of his finances, on their return to England opened their house. A crowd of distinguished persons, male and female, filled the apartments once every week. That the Duke was a very weak man the circumstances attending his unfortunate connection with Lady Grosvenor and his marriage with Mrs. Horton sufficiently attest.[2] Yet, limited as his faculties were, his manner rendered them apparently meaner than they would otherwise have been esteemed. The same remark might be applied to the King, his brother, who, had he possessed the grace of the Prince of Wales, would have impressed all who approached him with a conviction of his capacity. The Duchess of Cumberland, like almost every individual of the Luttrell family, by no means wanted talents, but they were more specious than solid, better calculated for show than for use, for captivating admiration than for exciting esteem. Her personal charms, allowance being made for the injury which they had sustained from time—for in

[1] This house, now a portion of the War Office, was built by Brickingham for the Duke of York, George III.'s brother. At the death of the Duke of Cumberland the house was sold and turned into a subscription club.—ED.

[2] Henry, brother of George III., was born in 1744. The union of Mrs. Horton with the Royal Duke led to the Royal Marriage Act, by which princes and princesses of the blood cannot marry without the consent of the sovereign, or, that being unreasonably withheld, of the Privy Council and Parliament. For an admirable description of the personal appearance and moral character of the Duchess see Walpole to Mann, November 7, 1771 ("Letters," v. 347).—ED.

1786 she was no longer young—fully justified the Duke's passion. No woman of her time performed the honours of her own drawing-room with more affability, ease, and dignity. The King held her in great alienation, because he believed that she lent herself to facilitate or to gratify the Prince of Wales's inclinations on some points beyond the limits of propriety, Carlton and Cumberland houses communicating behind by the gardens. Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, a younger sister of the Duchess—their father having been raised in the preceding year from the rank of an Irish viscount to the dignity of an earl of the same kingdom—was domiciled at Cumberland House. She inherited no portion of the Duchess's beauty, elegance, or prudence. Coarse and destitute of softness in her manners, wanting principle and devoured by a rage for play, she finally closed her life in a manner the most humiliating as well as tragical.

The Luttrells had succeeded, under George III., to the charge for eccentricity enjoyed by the Herveys during the two preceding reigns, of which last-mentioned family the Dowager Viscountess Townshend observed that "God had created men and women and Herveys." The present Earl of Carhampton,[1] who, as Colonel Luttrell, acted so conspicuous a part half a century ago when he opposed Wilkes at Brentford in the memorable contest for Middlesex, still survives, in the possession of all his intellectual faculties, though advanced beyond his seventieth year. In his person he was rather below than above the middle size, but active, of a pleasing figure, and a high spirit, verifying the adage of "Petit mine et grand jeu." He possessed a mind cast in a very original mould, though uncultivated, and he was

[1] He died in 1821, in his seventy-eighth year, and was succeeded by his only brother.—ED.

an indefatigable votary of pleasure. In 1812, soon after the restrictions imposed by Parliament on the Regent were withdrawn, Lord Carhampton lying in an apparently hopeless state at his house in Bruton Street, Berkeley Square, where he laboured under a dangerous internal malady, intelligence of his decease was prematurely carried to Carlton House. The Regent, who was at table when the report arrived, lending rather too precipitate credit to the information, immediately gave away his regiment, the Carabineers, to one of the company, a general officer, and he lost not a moment in kissing his Royal Highness's hand on the appointment. No sooner had the report reached Lord Carhampton than he instantly dispatched a friend to Pall-Mall empowered to deliver a message for the Prince. In it he most respectfully protested that, far from being a dead man, he hoped to surmount his present disease, and therefore humbly entreated him to dispose of any other regiment in the service except the Carabineers. Lord Carhampton humorously added that his Royal Highness might rest assured he would give special directions to his attendants not to lose a moment, after it could be ascertained that he was really dead, in conveying the news to Carlton House.

The residence of the French Ambassador at Hyde Park Corner formed, in 1786, another rallying-point of pleasure. Ever since the conclusion of peace between the two crowns, Count d'Adhemar filled that distinguished post, to which the friendship of the Duchess de Polignac and the protection of the Queen had elevated him. Assuredly he never would have been sent by Henry IV. to James I., nor selected by Louis XIV. to manage the interests of France at the court of Charles II. The business of the embassy was principally con-

ducted by his secretary, Barthelemy, who has since performed a conspicuous part throughout the French Revolution. After having been banished to the coast of Guiana he still survives, respected under every Government to which France has been subjected during the last five-and-twenty years. I knew him intimately, our acquaintance having commenced at Vienna, where he held the post of secretary to the Baron de Breteuil, ambassador from Louis XVI. to the Empress Queen Maria Theresa. Barthelemy was a native of Provence, and nephew to the celebrated abbé of that name, author of the "Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis," a work the erudition and ingenuity of which have secured its fame to all future time. D'Adhemar, in conformity with the manners of France, where every species of amusement is customary on Sunday evenings, opened his house weekly on that night throughout the whole winter. About the same time he was attacked by a paralytic stroke while standing in the drawing-room at St. James's. Such a disaster might naturally have suspended the entertainments at Hyde Park Corner, but, in order to conceal it as much as possible from his own court, and to impress the world with an idea that the attack could be only slight, his house was opened as usual. A faro-table being set in one of the apartments, the company punted at it, while the ambassador lay in an adjoining room attended by physicians. I witnessed the fact. His recovery proving merely temporary, the Chevalier de la Luzerne replaced him in the following year.

[10*th*—31*st May* 1786.] Throughout the whole month of May, Burke continued to call witnesses for the purpose of proving various allegations of a criminal nature against Hastings. He then announced that he should commence his prosecution

with the invasion of the territory of Rohilcund, commonly denominated the Rohilla war; and as soon as the House had disposed of the charge, he would proceed to the affair of Benares and the rebellion of Cheyt Sing. One, and only one debate of considerable interest took place relative to the correspondence carried on between Mr. Middleton, while he was invested with the public character of Minister at Lucknow, and the Governor-General, which epistolary intercourse Burke loudly insisted ought to be produced. With that view he moved that Middleton should be examined at the bar. But here he was again opposed by the Master of the Rolls. "I can only compare the demand," exclaimed Kenyon, "for the production of private papers from an individual criminally charged, with the avowed intention of criminating him, to the conduct of the Inquisition, where prisoners are put to the torture in order to extort from them confessions of guilt. Even the act of breaking open Algernon Sydney's private chamber, ransacking his most secret manuscripts, and seizing on an unpublished paper, which subsequently formed the ground of his accusation, and ultimately the pretence for his execution, yet was justifiable when placed in comparison with the present attempt; because in Algernon Sydney's instance danger to the state was pretended, whereas in this case no such pretext can be alleged, but an individual is to be made the instrument of his own conviction. Where then, I ask, is the man to be found who would reflectively do the thing which this House is now called on to authorise?"

Burke parried so severe an attack with the arms of wit rather than with those of reason or of law. "Where," he asked, "was an inference to be drawn from his conduct that could be stigmatised as putting

the accused to the torture? Why," continued he, "do I desire to see this correspondence? Is it to pry into the Governor-General's amours or to discover how many dancing-girls he had at his disposal? I do not want to know whether Mr. Hastings was afflicted with the malady of which Francis I. died, or what subjects of personal lamentation he might impart to Mr. Middleton. My object is to trace his official actions, and, by laying open his private instructions to the Minister at Oude, to prove how he has dishonoured the British name, violated the British faith, and degraded our national character." Pitt, while he expressed his disapprobation of an attempt at compelling the production of papers, for the purpose of criminating either Hastings or Middleton, softened nevertheless the asperity of Kenyon's animadversions on Burke's motion. "As to the torture of which my learned friend has made mention," added he, "it ought not to be interpreted literally, and means only an endeavour to elicit truth by unfair and illegal methods. Such modes, if used to compel from an individual written evidence against himself, would be as censurable and as repugnant to justice as personal torture to extort verbal confession. It is to the Court of Directors that application ought to be made for the papers in question, if they are of a public nature; for, on the supposition of their being really private, it would be highly unconstitutional to call for them in any manner." The latter idea was, however, by Fox treated with scorn. "All the papers which we demand," said he, "are those belonging to us, to the state, and to the East India Company. If his Majesty had called on me, when no longer Secretary of State, to deliver up all the papers in my possession, must I not have obeyed? Were the case otherwise, the inquisitorial powers of this House are paralysed, and no state

delinquent can ever be prosecuted to conviction." Pitt's opinion was nevertheless finally adopted.

[*1st and 2d June* 1786.] At length, after a delay of more than four months, Burke brought forward the first charge against Hastings, namely, the Rohilla war. Conscious how vast a responsibility he incurred and how difficult a task he undertook in endeavouring to point the indignation of Parliament against a man who had maintained the authority of Great Britain over her possessions in the East under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, and who had merited the acknowledgment of his employers, Burke called to his assistance all the resources of his comprehensive and illuminated mind. Nor did he despise those adventitious aids which, by impressing his audience with a deep sense of the awful character of the prosecution itself, might awaken and rivet attention to his own efforts in the cause of national justice. Attracted by curiosity, or friendship, or party—for even in this instance, where party ought to have been wholly excluded, it still found entrance—a very great concourse of members took their seats at the usual hour of business. Burke, nevertheless, entreated a pause for a few minutes, wishing, he said, that the numbers present might bear a becoming proportion to the importance of the matter. Rising when he saw that the benches were crowded, and every countenance indicated attention, he began by a solemn invocation to British justice from the oppressions of British power. With an affecting earnestness, he at the same time disclaimed all personal malevolence. "My anger," said he, "is not a private, but a public resentment. Not all the political changes of administration which we have witnessed during the last five years, neither summer retirement, nor winter occupation, nor the snow which nature has

plentifully showered on my head during that period —none of these has had power to cool the anger which as a public man I feel, but which in my individual capacity I never have nourished for a single instant."

After an exordium so well calculated to dispose the human heart as well as understanding, for receiving those impressions which he wished to make on both, he proceeded to attack the Governor-General as a culprit of the first magnitude and atrocity. Throwing over himself, as he well knew how to do, the classic mantle of antiquity, he depictured in glowing colours the noble and venerable character which attached to a public accuser under the Roman republic, so long as a spark of freedom still existed among that people. Unable to adduce any spontaneous testimony in support of the charges that he enumerated, he attempted to derive from the silence of the natives of Hindostan a proof of the alleged acts of violence and oppression. With great ingenuity he converted this negative presumption of innocence into an evidence of guilt. "When I consider," said he, "though Mr. Hastings remained during thirteen years at the head of the Bengal Government, that no one complaint has been yet transmitted home against him, I tremble at the enormous degree of power with which I have to contend." The defence recently delivered in by Hastings at the bar Burke stigmatised as only a nominal exculpation, couched in language becoming an innocent and calumniated person unjustly accused of heinous offences. No doubt there was to be traced in Hastings's manner, tone, and spirit on that occasion, as well as in the paper itself, something which justified Burke's comment, and which seemed to say, "I am not properly amenable to this tribunal before which I am summoned. My

masters are the East India Company, not the House of Commons. I have been approved by my employers, what has Parliament to do with me?" It must indeed be accounted among the causes which eminently conduced to produce Hastings's impeachment, that he always appeared to consider the Court of Directors or of Proprietors the only arbiters of his honour and fortune. To kings and to Ministers he next extended his views, while he overlooked or provoked an individual who, though destitute of political power and only supported by the prodigious energies of his mind, could nevertheless arrest a successful Governor-General of India on his return to England, load him with accusations, drag him before the House of Peers, tie up his property, restrain his liberty, marshal the most resplendent talents of the country in array against him, and detain him during successive years in painful anxiety under imputations of every description, notwithstanding his final acquittal.

Burke having made these personal observations, then entered on the subject of the Rohilla war itself, which measure he held up to abhorrence as an act of systematic violence, plunder, and wanton aggression, terminating in the extermination of the native inhabitants. A discussion ensued which occupied two whole nights, the adjourned debate on the 1st of June not being finished till near eight in the morning of the 3d. Many individuals spoke on each side, but Pitt was not found among the number. Hardinge, in a speech of great length, admirably arranged and well digested, repeated all his preceding opinions. Having professed his conviction that an example was due to the national honour, ample proof of the facts charged by Burke having been laid before the House, he strongly adjured that assembly, as the great inquest of the

realm, to put Hastings upon his account. "I am far from asserting," added he, "that the late Governor-General, if impeached, will ever be convicted, but should he be tried and acquitted, yet an example will have been made in his person. If, on the other hand, he is now screened, the disgrace of such a measure will cling like a poisoned shirt to the British name and Government for ages. It will survive the parties of the day, and form a lasting reproach to the country." On the composition denominated "Hastings's defence" Hardinge was, if possible, even more severe than Burke. "I see in it," said he, "a perfect character drawn by the culprit himself, and that character is his own. Conscious triumph in the ability and success of all his measures pervades every sentence. He depictures the various classes of men throughout Hindostan, natives or Europeans, as equally impressed with a sort of superstitious faith in his genius and fortune. If we judge of his administration by the picture which he has here presented of himself, not a crime remains. All is talent conducted by wisdom and merit." So deep was the impression made by Hardinge's speech, that when he concluded it at three o'clock in the morning a general cry for adjournment arising, Pitt, though he declared his readiness to postpone the consideration of the subject to another evening, yet submitted whether, if any of the numerous members whom he saw eager to speak might be desirous of replying instantly to particular points of the very able discourse just pronounced, permission ought not to be granted them for so doing before the House should adjourn. He could not express more unambiguously his high opinion of the effect produced by Hardinge's attack of Hastings.

If, however, that distinguished person found

severe assailants, he likewise met with advocates of equal ability. Lord Mulgrave during the first discussion, and Mr. William Grenville in the course of the second, each undertook from the Treasury bench his justification. Fox having called on Dundas to come forward, and either to condemn the Rohilla war, as he had done in 1782 when chairman of the secret committee, or at once to erase from their journals the resolution then moved and carried by him, which Fox declared to be the only mode of avoiding the recorded stigma of shameful inconsistency, "I admit," replied Dundas, "that these animadversions seem to be warranted by my conduct in 1782. But though I then moved for Mr. Hastings's recall, I did it solely on grounds of expediency, and not with the slightest intention of instituting against him a criminal proceeding."—"I will nevertheless acknowledge," added he, "that I neither concur with my two friends, members of the Board of Control, in the justice or in the policy of the Rohilla war. It must, however, be recollected that since that period Mr. Hastings has been appointed by Act of Parliament Governor-General of Bengal. I consider his appointment as a tacit, if not an avowed, pardon. He has subsequently rendered the most splendid services to his country. An impeachment, therefore, at this distance of time, would produce consequences far more injurious to our national interests in the East than any advantage could compensate to be derived from making him an example of parliamentary punishment." It seems impossible to dispute the truth or to deny the solidity of Dundas's reasoning as applied to the Rohilla war. To have punished Hastings for that measure, after it had been virtually approved, or at least obliterated, by his nomination to the office of Governor-General, would have been to imitate the most odious

act of the base and odious reign of the first of the Stuarts; I mean the attainder and condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh.

If the allusions made to Lord Clive by Hardinge on a former debate were severe, Lord North's present line of action gave rise to observations not less pointed, Hastings having been three times named by Parliament Governor-General of Bengal after the termination of the Rohilla war, between 1774 and 1781, while that nobleman continued at the head of his Majesty's councils. How, therefore, could he now join in impeaching a man whose measures he must have Ministerially approved? Yet, as Lord North attended in his place, and took his seat near Burke, it was evident that he intended to support the charge. Such a conduct seemed much more liable to the imputation of inconsistency than the contradiction of which Dundas was accused by Fox. Lord North became, in fact, the mark at which the principal blows were aimed, not only from the Treasury bench, but from other quarters. "What opinion," exclaimed Powis, "must this assembly form of a Minister who could not have been ignorant that Mr. Hastings was accused by the members of the Supreme Council, his colleagues, with the whole culpability of the Rohilla war, and yet continue to maintain him in his high employment?" The Earl of Mornington,[1] then member for an obscure borough on the confines of Cornwall belonging to the Percy family, and who did not foresee that before the century closed he should be himself one of Hastings's successors in the supreme government of India, first presented

[1] He had succeeded his father, the first Lord, in 1781. He sat for Beeralston, Saltash, and lastly for Windsor. He was Governor-General of India from 1797 to 1805, and was created Marquis of Wellesley in 1799.—ED.

himself, I believe, on that day to the notice of the House. He, as well as the Master of the Rolls, attacked Lord North with great asperity. Even Hardinge admitted that, "though every other individual present should join against Hastings, the noble Lord in the blue riband must vote for his acquittal on the actual charge." Under this accumulated load of censure Lord North rose repeatedly in exculpation or explanation of his conduct, which he justified on plausible if not on solid grounds. He protested that he had ever condemned the Rohilla war, and had made every effort, as soon as the intelligence reached him, to procure, by means of the Court of Directors, the recall of Hastings—efforts which, he said, were rendered abortive by the Court of East India Proprietors, who continued the Governor-General in his high situation. Satisfactory as these reasons might however be esteemed, Lord North did not trust to their solidity. He withdrew before the question was put from the chair, probably considering it to be more decorous, though he might lend his sanction to the prosecution of Hastings, not to vote against him in person.

The division, clamorously demanded from every part of the House, at length took place, when only sixty-seven persons were found to support Burke's motion declaring that "there was ground for charging Warren Hastings with high crimes and misdemeanours on the matter of the Rohilla war." One hundred and nineteen votes negatived the proposition. I formed one of that majority. The aggregate number did not exceed a third part of the whole House of Commons as then constituted. It was therefore evident that near 370 members out of 558 declined to vote on the question. Great exultation was expressed by Hastings's friends at the

result of this first charge, but various members of the opposite party avowed that if the event of the next article, which respected the treatment of Cheyt Sing, should prove similar to the present, Burke still intended to bring forward one other charge, namely, the Begums or Princesses of Oude. But they added, that if it should be likewise negatived, he was determined to throw up the prosecution, leaving on Parliament the responsibility, or, as he denominated it, the disgrace of quashing the impeachment. Sanguine expectations were entertained by many of the late Governor-General's supporters that the whole business would speedily terminate triumphantly for him. And it being well known that his Majesty considered him one of the most able and meritorious subjects in his dominions, Hastings's elevation to the British peerage was anticipated with a sort of certainty, whenever his acquittal should be pronounced by the House of Commons. It was even predicted as an imminent event within the walls of that assembly. Roger Wilbraham, who had been recently chosen member for Helston, when he seconded Burke's motion relative to the Rohilla war, having contumeliously descanted on Hastings's recognised talents of conciliation, instanced three individuals, namely, Sir Elijah Impey, Major Scott, and Mr. Dundas, all of whom he had found means to convert from enemies into friends. Wilbraham subjoined, "The honourable Governor will, I make no question, give ample proof of his conciliatory talents in the House of Peers." Such, indeed, was the opinion generally received throughout the metropolis and the country during the first days of June.

We must, nevertheless, allow that this supposition reposed on very doubtful or precarious foundations. Pitt, it was true, had voted for Mr. Hasting's ac-

quittal on the late charge, but he had not spoken in defence of the Rohilla war. Maintaining throughout both debates a pertinacious silence, he contented himself, "pedibus ire in sententiam," like an obscure member of Parliament. This line of conduct sufficiently indicated how far he was from thoroughly approving Hastings's attack of Rohilcund. Nor did Dundas hold out more reason to expect any systematic support from him in the progress of the prosecution. He had indeed spoken as well as divided against Burke; but though he thought that the Governor-General ought not to be impeached for a measure undertaken so many years antecedent to the accusation, yet he maintained his original condemnation of the act itself. Mr. William Grenville defended both the war and its author. His character, talents, and close connections of consanguinity with the Chancellor of the Exchequer all lent weight to his opinions. He had, however, undergone a very severe personal reprehension from Fox for "the dangerous and relaxed maxims of corrupt morality which he used as arguments in defence of Hastings." "I am concerned to hear such doctrines," exclaimed Fox, "fall from such a person—doctrines most inauspicious to the country, if, as his rank and abilities highly entitle him to expect, he should at some future time become himself First Minister."

This hypothetical prediction was accomplished twenty years afterwards, in 1806, when, on Pitt's decease, Mr. Grenville, already created a peer, was placed at the head of the Treasury, Fox accepting the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the same Administration. Jenkinson likewise defended the Rohilla war and warmly supported Hastings. Some years earlier his personal interposition would have materially affected the division. But those times no longer existed, when in every part of the

House were found the King's friends. The very race had almost become extinct, and another class of men, the Minister's friends, supplied their place. Pitt, master of a decided majority in Parliament, idolised without doors, not embarrassed with an unpopular war, like Lord North, and having only to contend against a party which had lost the affection of the country, lay under no necessity of consulting the royal wishes, or of sacrificing to them his own principles, inclinations, or convictions. He might dictate his pleasure at St. James's. For to whom could the King, if displeased, have recourse? The Marquis of Lansdowne would not have ventured to accept the reins of government, nor did he possess the means of retaining them during a single month in opposition to Pitt. Never was any Minister more powerful or more independent of the crown than Pitt in the year 1786.

[13*th June* 1786.] No sooner had the House of Commons met subsequent to the Whitsuntide recess, than Fox brought forward the second article of impeachment, namely, Hastings's treatment of Cheyt Sing, Zemindar or prince of the province of Benares. The attendance fell little short of the numbers present at the agitation of the Rohilla war, great and general anxiety pervading the assembly, occasioned by their ignorance of the part which Pitt meditated to take in the discussion. I am indeed of opinion that, with the single exception of Dundas, not an individual on the Treasury bench knew at the moment when the debate began what sentiments the Chancellor of the Exchequer would deliver on the occasion. Fox, with his usual ability, stated the charge, consisting principally in the severe, arbitrary, and exorbitant pecuniary fine extorted by Hastings from the Rajah. This fact he detailed with great animation, pointing the

indignation of his audience against so tyrannical a measure, and demanding whether they chose to become the avengers of the oppressed or the accomplices of the tyrant. For the recent vote respecting the Rohilla war he admitted there might be some pretext, drawn from the length of time which had elapsed since its commission. None could be pleaded on the present occasion. The facts were undeniable and atrocious. From the decision of that evening France and Europe would learn what system of government was henceforward to be adopted in the East, and whether, upon full proof of guilt, a British House of Commons possessed sufficient virtue to punish the author of such enormities.

Pitt rose very soon after Fox concluded; and though I deeply lamented the line of action embraced by the First Minister on that evening, yet scarcely ever did I find greater reason to admire the range of his faculties, the lucid order of his ideas, or the facility, plenitude, and grace of his elocution. After lamenting that his duty imperiously prevented him from obeying the impulse of his inclination by absenting himself altogether from the present proceedings—"for," continued he, "I feel the utmost difficulty as well as repugnance to decide on judicial questions connected with Asiatic principles and habits under the impression of feelings and opinions imbibed, as well as matured, under the British constitution"—yet, he said, he had endeavoured to make himself master of the case. In the progress of his speech he laid open the whole system of feudal tenures, together with the nature of military and civil subordination as recognised throughout Hindostan, the obligations imposed by it, and the extent of power vested in the supreme ruler or sovereign. Reasoning from these assump-

tions, all which he brought to the touchstone of history, he satisfactorily demonstrated that Hastings possessed the right to call on Cheyt Sing for aid, both pecuniary and in men. It was an equally incontestable fact that the Governor-General became justified in imposing a fine upon any refractory or disloyal feudatory. Pitt showed that the contumacy, followed by the rebellion of the Rajah, clearly subjected him to deposition. As he proceeded he neither spared the severest reflections on the individuals engaged in the prosecution, nor did he fail in paying the highest encomiums to the firmness, decision, and vast resources of mind displayed by Hastings under circumstances the most critical. The comments which he made on Fox as well as on Burke, for the arts of misrepresentation to which they condescended in order to prejudice the object of their attack, were strongly pointed. But on Francis, who had seconded the motion, he launched his bitterest animadversions, not hesitating to stigmatise certain parts of his conduct while acting as a member of the Supreme Council with the epithet of "malignant," and of a nature impugning the rectitude of his character.

After bearing such distinguished testimony to Hastings's public merits, and reprobating the line of action embraced by his accusers, after proving the right inherent in the Bengal Government to fine a contumacious Zemindar, and showing that he had merited punishment, it seemed necessarily to follow that the late Governor-General must be pronounced innocent. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, disappointing, I believe, equally the expectations of his friends and of his opponents, declared that, however commendable Hastings's motives might be, yet "the fine imposed on Cheyt Sing was exorbitant, unjust, and tyrannical." "I

therefore," continued he, "shall agree to the motion before the House. But I confine myself solely to the exorbitancy of the fine, approving every preceding as well as subsequent part of Mr. Hastings's conduct throughout the whole transaction." The astonishment produced by so unexpected a declaration it would be difficult adequately to describe. Various persons rose to express their concern at Pitt's condemnation of the Governor-General. Only one individual spoke in its commendation. Lord Mulgrave and Mr. William Grenville, who were both seated near the Minister on the Treasury bench, successively protested that whatever concern it occasioned them to differ with him, yet, as honest men, they could not think Hastings deserving of impeachment, nor could concur in the resolution. Even the Attorney-General (Arden), with more independence of mind than I believed him to possess, and though indebted to Pitt's friendship far more than to his own legal ability for every step which he had made towards the great dignities of the law, quitted him on this occasion. He justified his intended vote in a few manly words. Major Scott deplored the Ministerial declaration, as forming a hard return for the meritorious exertions of a great functionary placed in a post of extreme danger, whose transcendent services, while Pitt acknowledged, he now abandoned to his enemies on account of the *quantum* of a fine levied, not from any corrupt motive, but for the public service in a moment of distress. Dempster,[1] himself one of the most conscientious men who ever sat in Parliament, elevated above all party views and proverbial for candour, expressed similar convictions. "Mr. Hastings," observed he, "has been the saviour of our possessions in the East, and if he merits

[1] George Dempster of Dunnichen, M.P. for Forfar burghs.—ED.

impeachment for any act of his whole life, it is for having been so weak a man as to return to this country with a very limited fortune."

I said that only one member of the Assembly rose to applaud Pitt's speech and the sentiments which it expressed, but that member was Powis. After lavishing many encomiums on the spirit which characterised it, he added, sarcastically, his lamentations at perceiving that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was deserted by his friends. "Two of the Ministers for India," continued Powis, "have not only held doctrines altogether repugnant to those professed by the head of the Administration, but have virtually maintained that political expediency sanctions injustice,—a principle to which I never can assent." Irritated at these animadversions, Lord Mulgrave exclaimed "that the Minister seated near him would be wholly unfit to conduct the affairs of this country for a single day if, when a question such as the present was agitated, where the House acted as accusers, and in some measure as judges, he could expect his friends to sacrifice their opinions." Nor did Mr. Grenville acquiesce in Powis's reflections without severely retorting on him, denying at the same time, as Lord Mulgrave had previously done, his having ever asserted that injustice could derive a sanction from political expediency. Pitt now interposed. "I lament," said he, "that any difference of opinion should have arisen between my friends and me, but it is an honourable difference, not upon a principle, only on the application of a principle. I think the fine of £500,000 imposed by the Governor-General on Cheyt Sing most exorbitant. My honourable and noble friends think otherwise." Here the debate closed, though at an early hour, the part taken by the Minister leaving no hope from protracting the discussion, nor

any doubt whatever as to the final issue on the division. In fact, the question being called for, seventy-nine members, of whom I was one, acquitted Hastings, while precisely the same numerical majority which supported him on the first charge declared him culpable on the second, namely, 119. The aggregate numbers on both occasions differed only twelve, all of whom were taken from the Ministerial ranks and thrown into the opposite scale. On the other hand, as Burke's friends did not exceed sixty-seven on the division relative to the Rohilla war, we must admit that full fifty individuals followed Pitt without hesitation. Dundas never opened his lips during the whole evening, but he took care to vote with his principal.

That fifty, or even a hundred persons, should have supported the Chancellor of the Exchequer on a measure of state without nicely weighing its merits can excite no surprise. Every First Minister of England must be able to rely on such a phalanx, who ask no questions. Such is necessarily the genius of our government and constitution, in practice though not in theory. But in a case where Ministerial feelings or interests could have no place, and in which the House assumed a juridical character, more severe scruples might have directed their votes. These reflections derive strength if we consider that the far greater number of those who divided with Pitt were men of high birth and independent fortunes, though not, it may be thought, of independent minds; for it will scarcely be maintained that they could conscientiously acquit Hastings on the Rohilla question and yet impeach him on the charge relative to Cheyt Sing. The fact very forcibly proves how great an influence Pitt exercised over his parliamentary adherents. No Minister in our time has equalled him in his empire over the

individuals who followed his fortune. I do not except from the force of the remark even the Marquis of Londonderry himself.[1] In the course of a short conversation which succeeded the division, carried on across the table, Burke observed, with more than his usual complacency, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had accused his want of diligence in carrying on the prosecution, and found fault with his charges. "But," concluded Burke, "as he has given me his vote this evening, I am satisfied to take one along with the other." Instead of a peerage, a place in the Privy Council, and a seat at the East India Board, Hastings beheld now before him the probable prospect of an impeachment, with its train of vexations, delays, and expenses. Inconsistency, heightened by political ingratitude, were imputed to Pitt. Enmity and rivalry were attributed to Dundas, who, as the public believed, dreaded Hastings's presence and ability at the Board of Control.

[*14th—16th June* 1786.] An incident of a singular nature took place at this time, and which, as connected with the late Governor-General, occasioned very malignant comments. The Soubah of the Deccan, Nizam Ally Cawn, one of the most powerful princes of Hindostan, impelled, as he asserted, by a spontaneous sentiment of regard or veneration for the King of Great Britain, transmitted to Calcutta a diamond of great size and value, which he wished the Governor-General to present to his Majesty.[2] But Hastings having quitted the Ganges previous to its arrival in Bengal, the packet containing the bulse was forwarded to him, and, in consequence of various accidents, did not reach him before the 2d day of June, the evening on which he

[1] Better known as Lord Castlereagh.—ED.
[2] See *ante*, p. 19 (note).—ED.

was acquitted upon the charge of the Rohilla war. A chain of circumstances wholly casual delayed its presentation to the sovereign till the 14th of the same month, the day subsequent to the decision on the business of Cheyt Sing, when Lord Sydney, as President of the East India Board, delivered the packet together with a letter from the Nizam to the King. Hastings himself witnessed its presentation at the levée, having sent the diamond, through the intervention of Major Scott, to Lord Sydney. Two days afterwards, it being agitated in the House of Commons to postpone the further consideration of the charges against Hastings till the ensuing session, Major Scott strongly objected to a single hour's delay. He even protested that the fate of India and of the British empire in the East might depend, as he believed, on terminating the present prosecution before the prorogation of Parliament should take place. To these denunciations he added some dark and undefined expressions of alarm at the intelligence recently received from Calcutta, which he represented to be of a description involving the interests, if not the future existence, of the East India Company.

[*16th—26th June* 1786.] Whatever apprehension such language might be calculated to excite, no attempt was made at the time to inquire into its nature; but the subject being renewed on the 21st of June, Sheridan alluding to it observed, that if Major Scott really knew of any disastrous information from India, he ought to state it to the House. "For my own part," continued he, "I have made every inquiry in my power, with a view to learn whether any extraordinary news has been recently brought over from the East. But I can learn nothing extraordinary, except the receipt of an extraordinary large diamond, asserted to have been sent to Mr. Hastings,

and presented to his Majesty at an extraordinary and critical period of time. It is likewise extraordinary that the individual selected for the purpose of presenting this diamond should be Mr. Hastings." Scott, taken by surprise, made no immediate reply. As soon, however, as he had collected the proper documents for repelling an insinuation so personal to Hastings, and which seemed even to go still higher, he took occasion to allude to it while addressing the House on the debts and revenues of India. "An honourable gentleman," said the Major, "has mentioned the presentation to his Majesty of an extraordinary diamond at an extraordinary period of time. I dare say he did it without serious intention; but as every circumstance attending the transaction has been infamously misrepresented, I trust I shall be permitted to rescue my own character, no less than that of Mr. Hastings, from such calumnious reflections." He then minutely detailed every fact relative to the diamond, producing letters or papers in proof of each separate assertion. Having finished his narration, he subjoined, "I do not comprehend what inferences can be drawn from the whole business derogatory either to Mr. Hastings's honour or to that of any other person. I delivered the letter and the bulse publicly to one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State. Whether the bulse did or did not contain a valuable diamond, I most solemnly declare I am ignorant. Nor can any man suppose that, however valuable such a present might intrinsically be, it could form an object of the least consequence to the great personage in question." The debate continued for a considerable time subsequent to this explanation, but neither Fox nor Sheridan, though each rose to address the House, adverted to it in their speeches. Newspapers and print-shops formed

the channels through which the enemies of Hastings generally transmitted their accusations or insinuations over the kingdom.

With the decision on the charge relative to Cheyt Sing terminated the proceedings carried on against Hastings during the session. Burke professed, indeed, his readiness to proceed, though he stated his apprehensions that at so advanced a period of the year it would be found impracticable to procure an adequate attendance. If, however, the House should be of an opposite opinion, he said he was prepared, with the least practicable delay, to bring forward the next article, which regarded the Princesses of Oude. Fox expressing himself a warm advocate for dispatch, and Pitt not opposing it, while Major Scott represented the injustice and cruelty of procrastinating the prosecution, Mr. Hamilton (subsequently more known as Marquis of Abercorn) gave notice that he would move for a call of the House. He did so a few days afterwards, declaring that he was solely impelled by his feelings for an accused and persecuted individual to invoke their justice on the present occasion. He testified some surprise at not finding Fox in his place, from whom he had expected personal support, deplored the hard fate of a man who, after having devoted his life to one of the greatest offices which could be held by a subject, which he had executed so meritoriously, found only accusation on returning home, and concluded by making the motion for a call. Sheridan immediately rising, denied that his absent friend had ever professed a wish for continuing the prosecution during the present session, unless an attendance could be procured becoming its gravity and importance. In language equally forcible as persuasive, he pointed out the imputations to which the House would be subjected if, when hardly more

than 120 members could probably be brought to divide on any of the remaining articles, they should still persist. These reasons perfectly convinced the great majority of the House, though they failed in producing the same effect on Mr. Hamilton.

Sheridan having fully argued the question of the call, then addressed himself personally to that gentleman. "He has denominated Mr. Hastings," said Sheridan, "an accused and persecuted man. Is such language either decent in itself or to be endured within these walls? That Mr. Hastings is an accused man I admit, but how is he a persecuted man? I will not, however, endeavour to prove that he is not persecuted, because if allusion is intended to the recent vote on the charge relating to Cheyt Sing, the honourable member sits on the same bench with several of Mr. Hastings's persecutors, who know much better how to justify their conduct than it would become me to attempt to do it for them." Hamilton, ardently attached as he was to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet possessed great independence of mind joined with a haughty inflexibility of character. Deeply impressed with a sense of Hastings's services to the state, he disdained to follow the crowd of Ministerial dependants who alternately acquitted or condemned him as their leader dictated. Even the speech pronounced by Pitt on the same evening, which admitted the impossibility of enforcing the proposed call, and concurred with Sheridan in advising to postpone all further proceedings, made no impression on Hamilton. Rising at the close of the debate, and addressing himself first to Sheridan, "It has been proposed to me," said he, "to explain away the word 'persecuted.' I do not mean to assert that the House of Commons persecutes Mr. Hastings. This House, I well know, persecutes no

individual. But the acrimonious language used respecting him within these walls I denominate persecution." Then turning towards Pitt, who was seated at a very inconsiderable distance from him, he added, "I entertain little doubt that I shall find myself this evening in a minority. Nevertheless I will divide the House on my motion." Only thirty persons were found to sustain it, while ninety-nine voted for suspending the prosecution. Thus terminated the proceedings against Hastings during the session of 1786, and with them may be said to have terminated the session itself, though his Majesty did not immediately prorogue the Parliament.

[*July* 1786.] If we would name two individuals who, more than any others of their countrymen (unless we except Lord Heathfield), contributed to shed a portion of glory over the calamitous period of George III.'s reign which intervened from 1775 to 1783, during the prosecution of the American war, we should select Hastings and Rodney. The one preserved our empire in the East, while the other triumphantly rescued Jamaica from the attack of the combined fleets of France and Spain. We may, however, almost defy antiquity to produce more signal instances of national ingratitude or neglect than were exhibited in their persons. Hastings, recalled by the Court of Directors as early as 1782 in consequence of a vote of the House of Commons, was only continued in his high employment by the efforts of the Court of Proprietors. Rodney was superseded nearly at the same time in the moment of victory by a Secretary of State who did not hesitate to send out as his successor an Admiral unknown by distinguished service,[1] and to whom

[1] This attack on Fox and Admiral Pigot is a repetition of what was said in the "Historical Memoirs" (see vol. ii. p. 328). The "Quarterly Review" (vol. lix. p. 460) says that Rodney was recalled before the

the Secretary was indebted for money lost at the gaming-table, as common fame reported without receiving any contradiction. The former, instead of a peerage, met an impeachment, and was not even placed in the Privy Council till he had passed his eightieth year. A peerage of the lowest gradation was rather extorted from than conferred by the Rockingham Administration on the latter. Neither the one nor the other attained to affluence. The Governor-General's best if not only support was derived from the annuity granted him by the East India proprietors. The Admiral subsisted principally if not entirely on his pension and his naval pay, both which constituted an inadequate provision for a man encumbered with a numerous family. To him the capture of St. Eustatius proved only a fruitful source of litigation, vexation, and loss. At this very time one of the many prize causes which by appeal were carried before the Privy Council, on the part of the owners of property seized at St. Eustatius, was determined against him to the amount of at least £15,000, including damages and costs. In 1786, Lord Rodney, then verging towards seventy, resided in a hired house at Knightsbridge, where I have participated his dinner, which was very far from splendid. He survived till May 1792. His dissolution was sudden, he having retired to rest in his usual health at his house in Hanover Square, without any symptom that indicated approaching death, but about two or three in the morning he rang his bell. A black servant, who had attended on him many years with equal affection and fidelity, instantly repaired to his bedside, and finding him almost senseless, ran to procure medical assistance. Before however any aid arrived he had expired.

victory, or at least before it was known in England, and afterwards that every endeavour was made to annul the recall.—ED.

Jenkinson was more fortunate, or rather he was wiser, than either Hastings or Rodney. Scarcely had Parliament been prorogued when he attained the great object of his ambition, the British peerage, without passing, as was then common, through the intermediate stage of an Irish title. A few weeks afterwards he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. At the same time a new Board of Trade being constituted, Pitt placed Lord Hawkesbury at its head as President. So many marks of royal and Ministerial favour had been earned by five-and-twenty years of public service, aided by eminent and solid though not brilliant talents, by unremitting labour, patience, and a variety of attainments, all principally directed to one point. Scarcely any subject during the course of George III.'s long reign has supported a heavier load of unpopularity than Jenkinson. Lord North, it is true, when called on repeatedly in the House of Commons, declared that all assertions of secret influence were unfounded, or at least that he never had discovered any such concealed agency lurking behind the throne. Some of the last words which Jenkinson himself ever uttered in the same assembly constituted a peremptory denial of the imputation. I was present on the occasion. It took place during the course of the second debate on the Rohilla war, early in June 1786, only a short time before he went up to the House of Peers. In the progress of the investigation, Jenkinson, who had spoken in defence of Hastings, was attacked both by Fox and Sheridan. They, availing themselves of the term "influence," which he had inadvertently used, accused him of having been in his own person the depositary of an unconstitutional power of that nature. He instantly rose, and, in animated but temperate language, repelled the accusation. "I treat it," said

he, "as I have uniformly considered all the vulgar allusions of the same description levelled at me, with indifference and contempt. And I defy any man living to prove that either within or without these walls I have ever exerted undue or improper influence." No reply was made to this pointed declaration, but conviction did not follow it, the charge not admitting of proof, and resting on general belief. That during many years he enjoyed more of the royal confidence than any other subject it seems difficult to doubt. Nor did he disclaim it, only protesting that he never had exercised any undue or improper influence over his sovereign's mind.

On his elevation to the peerage he assumed for his motto—

"Palma, non sine pulvere;"

which words his enemies translated—

"This is the reward of my dirty work."

Dean Swift had in a similar manner rendered Queen Anne's device of "Semper eadem" by the words, "Worse and worse." The authors of the "Rolliad," who had satirised Jenkinson while a commoner, did not leave him in repose after he had reached the House of Lords. They published a "Congratulatory Ode" on his creation, parodied from Horace's

"Quem virum, aut heroa;"

in which poem, describing his admission among the peers, it is asserted that he will "slavish doctrines spread"—

"As some ill-omened baleful yew,
That sheds around a poisonous dew,
And shakes its rueful head."

Nor did they omit to mention the "mysterious diamonds," presented with a view "to check the im-

pending vote." Lord Hawkesbury, though during his whole life he never sat in Cabinet, yet enjoyed as much consideration as any member of the Administration, if we except Pitt. Unquestionably the King not only approved, but contributed to his being created a baron. Whether his Majesty wished him to be raised to the dignity of an Earl, an event which took place about ten years later, is not equally clear.

During the four or five concluding years of his life he retired from the world and from public affairs in a great measure, enjoying the uncommon felicity to behold his eldest son placed in the high office of Secretary of State as well as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and advancing with slow but steady pace to the head of the Treasury. Neither the first Lord Holland nor the great Earl of Chatham witnessed the political elevation of their sons. Lord Guildford, indeed, saw his son occupy the highest employments during a space of twelve years; but he survived to be a spectator of Lord North's fall, and might have exclaimed with the King of Pylos, while contemplating the funeral pyre of Antilochus—

> "—— Cur hæc in tempora duret,
> Quid facinus dignum tam longo admiserit ævo!"

On the contrary, Jenkinson's close of life received almost every alleviation which nature or fortune can bestow on that period of our existence. His acquisitions, already ample, were considerably augmented, about three years after he attained to the peerage, by the decease of Sir Banks Jenkinson, to whose title as well as estate he succeeded. Even his faculties remained unimpaired when he had passed his eightieth year; but a debility in his limbs, particularly in the knees, rendered him during a considerable time previous to his death incapable of moving or rising without assistance. If we reflect that he

was near four-and-thirty when he commenced his career as private secretary to the Earl of Bute, that he attained to an unrivalled height of confidence with George III., finally, that he was created a baron before he reached his sixtieth, and an Earl before he reached his seventieth year, we shall readily admit that he must have possessed great as well as rare endowments of mind.

While the King, liberated from a calamitous war, and elevated to a pinnacle of popularity which he had never reached during the first twenty-two years of his reign, became annually more an object of general attachment, the Prince of Wales had plunged himself into irretrievable domestic embarrassments. His income, though not adequate to exhibitions of splendour, yet, when increased by the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, might well have enabled him with economy to support the dignity of his high station. But profusion characterised every department of Carlton House, and a debt had already accrued exceeding £200,000. His Majesty, to whom the Prince made application for assistance, having returned an immediate and positive refusal, his Royal Highness embraced the resolution of dissolving his household. This determination he executed without delay, thus converting to his own personal wants or gratifications the allowance given him by Parliament for maintaining the state of a Prince of Wales. The nation would, however, have highly approved his renunciation of all the paraphernalia of grandeur if in consequence any progress had been made in extinguishing his debts. But they continued, on the contrary, during many years to augment, and at length reached a point at which the Legislature was compelled to interfere by nominating commissioners to superintend their liquidation. To so humiliating a situation had

personal indulgences reduced the heir-apparent at twenty-four years of age! The King, who well knew his character, fascinating under many points of view, and therefore calculated to attach, took effectual care to remove from any contact with him all his brothers. Frederick, Duke of York, resided altogether at Hanover. William Henry, brought up to the naval service, commanded the "Pegase," a ship of seventy-four guns, and had recently left Plymouth for his destination, Newfoundland; while Edward, the fourth son,[1] was sent over to Geneva under the care of a governor. His Majesty now entered his three youngest sons, Ernest,[2] Augustus,[3] and Adolphus,[4] as students at the Hanoverian University of Göttingen, to which seminary they repaired. Only the eldest of the seven sons remained at home in a dismantled palace, all the state apartments of which were shut up, his establishment dismissed, and himself reduced, in external appearance, to the condition of a private gentleman.

[*2d August* 1786.] A most atrocious though happily impotent attempt which was made at this time on the King's person, might, nevertheless, if it had been directed by a sound intelligence, have transferred the crown to the Prince of Wales. As his Majesty alighted at the garden door leading into St. James's Palace, where he arrived in his carriage from Windsor, a female, who had placed herself there, presented him a petition. Nearly in the same instant, while he was about to receive it, she pushed at him a dessert knife which lay concealed under the paper. Fortunately, the blade being weak in the middle, where it had been

[1] Afterwards Duke of Kent.—ED.
[2] Afterwards Duke of Cumberland, and on the death of William, King of Hanover.—ED.
[3] Afterwards Duke of Sussex.—ED.
[4] Afterwards Duke of Cambridge.—ED.

ground away, doubled or bent from the resistance made by the King's waistcoat, without inflicting the slightest wound, and before she could repeat the stroke one of the yeomen of the guard forced the weapon out of her hand. The King displayed the greatest self-collection, observing to the persons present that he had received no injury, and ordered them not to do her the slightest bodily harm. He then dressed himself for his levée, which he held precisely as he would have done on any other occasion. The woman, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, being pronounced insane, was transferred to a cell at Bedlam. Her alienation of mind received, indeed, sufficient confirmation from an inspection of the instrument which she had chosen for perpetrating the deed. Every circumstance attending it afforded matter of derision to the Opposition.[1] Addresses of congratulation being presented to the sovereign on the event from almost all parts of the kingdom, the individuals who received the honour of knighthood were contumeliously denominated "Knights of St. Margaret." Even the danger itself was treated as imaginary, and his escape as undeserving of national gratitude. In an "Eclogue" published immediately afterwards, entitled "Margaret Nicholson" (parodied from the "Daphnis" of Virgil), where Wilkes and Jenkinson maintain the dialogue, after representing the whole transaction under colours calculated to render it ridiculous, Jenkinson exclaims—

> "Ah! whither had we fled had that foul day
> Torn him untimely from our arms away!
> What ills had marked the age had that dire thrust
> Pierced his soft heart and bowed his *bob* to dust!"

When we consider how personally insulting were

[1] Shelley published a pamphlet entitled "Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson, . . . by John Fitzvictor."—ED.

these compositions, where wit and poetry combined to hold up the King to the contempt of his subjects, we cannot wonder that he shut the door of his cabinet against their authors and abettors. Every couplet tended to confirm the Administration in power. The errors of Fox and his followers, even more than Pitt's resplendent talents, conduced to prolong his Administration.

On the day when Margaret Nicholson made the attempt to assassinate his Majesty, the Chevalier del Campo, Minister Plenipotentiary from the court of Spain, arriving at St. James's with the intention of attending the levée, learned the intelligence on his entering the palace. Finding, however, that the King had not postponed the levée on that account, he went up, stood in the circle, and received those marks of familiar condescension with which George III. always treated the foreign envoys. On quitting the royal presence, he instantly ordered four post-horses to be put to his carriage, drove down to Windsor, and walking up to the lodge, seated himself in the hall. Conscious that information of the attempt would speedily arrive either by common report or by a special messenger, and aware that fame might exaggerate the fact, he determined to be in person the bearer of the intelligence to the Queen. After waiting patiently near two hours, a royal footman arrived bringing the particulars of the transaction. Del Campo then announced himself, sent in his name to her Majesty, and requested permission to present himself before her. He was immediately admitted, and informed her of the whole matter, adding that he had attended the levée, conversed for some minutes with the King, and had left him in the best health and spirits. A finer *trait de courtisan* is not to be found in Dangeau or in St. Simon. The Duke d'Antin

could scarceiy exceed it when paying his court to Louis XIV. Nor was it lost on the King and Queen of Great Britain. The Chevalier del Campo, created a Marquis, received in the following year the appointment of ambassador from his Catholic Majesty to the court of London, in which capacity he remained here till 1795. I knew him well. He was said to be of English extraction and of a very obscure origin; but Gondomar, who obtained so powerful an ascendant over the timid and pusillanimous councils of this country under the first of the Stuarts, might have owned that Del Campo was not unworthy to occupy the post which he himself had filled. Del Campo, though of a very diminutive figure, possessed pleasing manners, spoke English almost like a native, entertained with great elegance, and always laboured to maintain the most amicable relations between the two courts of London and Madrid.

[*8th August* 1786.] Among the distinguished individuals who at this time were created British peers, the Duke of Queensberry received the title of Baron Douglas. He is better known as Earl of March, having passed his fiftieth year before he succeeded to the dukedom of Queensberry. Few noblemen have occupied a more conspicuous place about the court and the town during at least half a century, under the reigns of George II. and George III. Like Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, he pursued pleasure under every shape, and with as much ardour at fourscore as he had done at twenty. After exhausting all the gratifications of human life, towards its close he sat down at his residence, near Hyde Park Corner, where he remained a spectator of that moving scene, which Johnson denominated "the full tide of human existence," but in which he could no longer take a very active part. I lived in almost daily habits of intercourse with him, when I

was in London, during the last seven years of his protracted career. His person had then become a ruin, but not so his mind. Seeing only with one eye, hearing very imperfectly only with one ear, nearly toothless, and labouring under multiplied infirmities, he possessed all his intellectual faculties, including his memory. Never did any man retain more animation, or manifest a sounder judgment. Even his figure, though emaciated, still remained elegant; his manners were noble and polished, his conversation gay, always entertaining, generally original, rarely instructive, frequently libertine, indicating a strong, sagacious, masculine intellect, with a thorough knowledge of man. If I were compelled to name the particular individual who had received from nature the keenest common sense of any person I ever knew, I should select the Duke of Queensberry. Unfortunately, his sources of information, the turf, the drawing-room, the theatre, the great world, were not the most pure, nor the best adapted to impress him with favourable ideas of his own species. Information as acquired from books he always treated with contempt, and used to ask me what advantage or solid benefit I had ever derived from the knowledge that he supposed me to possess of history, a question which it was not easy for me satisfactorily to answer, either to him or to myself. Known to be immensely rich, destitute of issue, and unmarried, he formed a mark at which every necessitous man or woman throughout the metropolis directed their aim. It is a fact that, when he lay dying in December 1810, his bed was covered with billets and letters to the number of at least seventy, mostly, indeed, addressed to him by females of every description, and of every rank, from Duchesses down to ladies of the easiest virtue. Unable from his extenuated state to open or to

peruse them, he ordered them, as they arrived, to be laid on his bed, where they remained, the seals unbroken, till he expired.

Throughout his whole life he had been a votary but not a dupe to women. Nor was he incapable of forming an honourable attachment, however licentious might have been his practice. He nourished an ardent and a permanent passion, during several years, for a lady of distinction whom I well knew, daughter of a First Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Pelham. But her father, considering him as a nobleman of dissipated habits, character, and fortune, interdicted their union. It must be owned that the Duke was fortunate in this prohibition, for she became the most infatuated gamester in the three kingdoms, unless Lady Elizabeth Luttrell formed an exception. When seated at faro, she sometimes exhibited all the variations of distress, or rather of anguish, in her countenance. Mr. Pelham having no son, bequeathed to her and her younger sister that charming retreat in Surrey, which Thomson justly celebrates when, tracing the vale of Thames, he mentions—

> "Esher's groves,
> Where in the sweetest solitude, embraced
> By the soft windings of the silent Mole,
> From courts and senates Pelham finds repose."

Miss Pelham, who found neither felicity nor repose among those shades, and whose whole faculties were concentered in the occupation of play, dissipated her fortune, and, notwithstanding her great connections of every kind, reduced herself in age to become absolutely dependent for support on her sister's affection.

To return to the Duke of Queensberry. If he had lived under Charles II., he might have disputed for pre-eminence in the favour of that prince with

the Arlingtons, the Buckinghams, the Falmouths, and the Dorsets, so celebrated under his reign. Many fabulous stories were circulated and believed respecting him, as, among others, that he wore a glass eye, that he used milk baths, and other idle tales. It is, however, a fact that the Duke performed in his own drawing-room the scene of Paris and the goddesses. Three of the most beautiful females to be found in London presented themselves before him precisely as the divinities of Homer are supposed to have appeared to Paris on Mount Ida, while he, habited like the "Dardan shepherd," holding a gilded apple in his hand, conferred the prize on her whom he deemed the fairest. This classic exhibition took place at his house opposite the Green Park. Neither the second Duke of Buckingham, commemorated by Pope, whose whole life was a voluptuous whim, nor any other of the licentious noblemen his contemporaries, appear to have ever realised a scene so analogous to the manners of that profligate period. The correct days of George III. were reserved to witness its accomplishment.

The Duke of Queensberry, during the last years of his life, having reluctantly withdrawn from Newmarket, from the Clubs, and from St. James's, passed his time with a few select friends—of which number I was frequently one—sometimes, though rarely, venturing into public. His passion for music, when added to his wish of being still seen upon the great arena of the world, carried him occasionally, notwithstanding his deafness, to the Opera House, where he completely personified Juvenal's

> "Quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
> Qui vix cornicines exaudiet, atque tubarum
> Concentus?"

The Duke had his French medical attendant

always near him, as the successor of Augustus retained his Greek physician. The Père Elisée answered precisely to Tacitus's description of Charicles. "Erat medicus arte insignis," says the Roman historian, "nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam præbere." When approaching the verge of life, and labouring under many diseases and infirmities, the Duke's temper, naturally impetuous, though long subdued to the restraints of polished society, often became irritable. As he had too sound an understanding not to despise every species of flattery, we sometimes entered on discussions, during the course of which he was not always master of himself. But he knew how to repair his errors. I have now before my eyes his last note to me, written by himself in pencil only a short time before his death. It runs thus:—"I hope you will accept this as an apology for my irritable behaviour when you called this morning. I will explain all when I see you again." Notwithstanding the libertine life that he had led, he contemplated with great firmness and composure of mind his approaching and almost imminent dissolution, while Dr. Johnson, a man of exemplary moral conduct and personally courageous, could not bear the mention of death, nor look without shuddering at a thigh-bone in a churchyard. The Duke of Queensberry, like Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, might have said with truth—

"Incertus morior, non perturbatus."

His decease, when it took place, occasioned no ordinary emotion throughout London, on account of the number of individuals who were interested in the distribution of his fortune. Besides his estates in Scotland and in England, he left in money about £900,000 sterling. Nearly £700,000 of this sum

he gave away in legacies, the remainder he bequeathed to the present Countess of Yarmouth.[1] Notwithstanding his very advanced age, he would have lived longer if he had not accelerated his end by imprudence in eating fruit. Of him it might have been said, as of Augustus, "Causam valetudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi."

[17*th August* 1786.] Towards the middle of the month "the great Frederick," as he was justly denominated by his contemporaries, closed his mortal career. No sovereign in modern ages has been so well entitled to that epithet, if we contemplate the variety of his talents. Francis I. and Henry IV. of France were more heroic and far more amiable, but the universality of Frederick's attainments places him above competition. We have not had any prince since Elizabeth, except William III., who can be compared with him; and William, though possessing many sublime endowments, was neither himself a man of letters nor protected men of literary talents. Frederick's reign of six-and-forty years divides itself into four distinct periods. The first, comprising from 1740 to the close of 1745, made him known to Europe and gave him Silesia. Schwerin acquired that fine province for Prussia by the victory of Mollwitz. I am old enough to have conversed with officers who fought in that engagement. They all admitted that the King precipitately quitted the scene of action, not, indeed, as Horace says *he* left the field of Philippi, but yet so hastily as induced Schwerin to advise his Majesty to wear his arm in a sling during some days, for the purpose of impressing the troops with a belief that he had been wounded. The second period comprises ten years, from 1746 to 1756, passed in

[1] Maria Fagniani, who married, May 18, 1798, Francis Charles, Earl of Yarmouth, afterwards Marquis of Hertford.—ED.

learned leisure among the eminent poets, philosophers, and wits whom he had assembled at Sans Souci. They gave him fame, and he gave them pensions as well as dinners. He received Voltaire with honours such as the younger Dionysius showed to Plato in antiquity, but their friendship terminated even more violently than the union between the tyrant of Syracuse and the Athenian sage. Frederick found it indeed easier to retain Silesia in subjection than to maintain tranquillity among the men of genius who composed his society. Their jealousies, animosities, and mutual recriminations were embodied in satirical productions which still survive, and manifest the bitter acrimony that subsisted between Voltaire and Maupertuis.

Throughout the third division of Frederick's reign, commencing with 1756 and terminating in 1763, he scarcely tasted a day's repose; now a conqueror, overrunning Bohemia or Moravia and menacing Vienna, to-morrow a beaten fugitive, without a home, and surrounded by hostile armies. If he had gained the battle of Coln in 1757, or if he had succeeded before Olmutz in 1758, Maria Theresa must have abandoned her capital, as her grandfather Leopold had done in 1683, when the Vizier Cara Mustapha entered Austria, and as she herself had been compelled to do by the French and Bavarians at the commencement of her reign. Frederick would have dictated peace on the banks of the Danube, as Bonaparte did in 1805 and in 1809. On the other hand, Francis I. upon the morning after the defeat of Pavia, or Henry IV. on the night before the combat of Arques, did not stand in a more desperate position than was Frederick subsequent to the defeats of Hohkirchen and of Cunersdorff. His escape, political and personal, from the dangers of the "Seven Years' War," which had nearly swept from the map

of Europe the very name of the Prussian monarchy, holds to prodigy. The fourth and last period of his eventful government (with the exception of one summer passed in the field, when in 1778 he opposed Joseph II. relative to the Bavarian succession), presents him occupied in the pacific cares of a wise, economical, and enlightened prince. Apprehensive of the restless ambition of the Emperor Joseph, and repulsed in all his efforts to detach France from Austria, he, when approaching the end of life, most unwillingly turned his views towards England. For no fact is more certain than his partiality to the French and his aversion to the English nation. Necessity alone compelled him to unite with Great Britain by signing the "Germanic League," the object of which treaty was to secure the liberties of the German empire. It formed the last act of his foreign policy.

Like Augustus, he expired at the age of about seventy-five, but not as the second Cæsar died, "in osculis Liviæ." No female, either wife or mistress, approached Frederick's couch. Men performed those offices about his person commonly rendered by the other sex in similar circumstances. Mrs. Piozzi, who visited Potsdam a short time after his decease, says that she saw the "Suetonius," which was carefully preserved, as being the last book opened by the King before he died, the leaf folded down at the passage containing the particulars of Augustus's end. Both were undoubtedly great actors throughout their whole reigns. Both retained their faculties to the last, and suffered little pain in the act of quitting life. The Emperor, indeed, seems to have been only anxious to leave the stage with grace on which he had so long performed the principal character, and if the particulars recounted of his death are accurate, if he could cause

his hair to be combed, his cheeks to be smoothed, and could address his friends in the language attributed to him, we may rather assert that he ceased to exist than that he died. "Sortitus exitum facilem, et qualem semper optaverat," says Suetonius. The King sunk under a complication of diseases, "morborum omne genus," aggravated by intemperance. Eel pies and polenta accelerated his dissolution, but, like many other princes of his House, he was finally carried off by water on the chest. In the spring of the year 1787 a man who had been his valet or *hussar de la chambre* came over to England and exhibited in London two figures executed in wax. One represented Frederick seated at his desk engaged in writing, the other displayed his dead body extended in the catafalque previous to his interment. Both were habited precisely as Frederick had been, but the former figure had on from head to foot the identical uniform and clothes of every sort worn by his Prussian Majesty when alive, which became the perquisite of the individual in question by virtue of his office. He assured me that the King expired in his arms, and I questioned him respecting the manner of Frederick's dissolution, as well as his last words. "Monsieur," answered he, "il étoit suffoqué par l'effet de l'eau qui lui montoit aux poumons. Sentant augmenter la difficulté de respirer, il m'ordonnoit de relever sa tête. Comme je la faisois, il répétoit à chaque instant, 'Plus haut, encore plus haut.' Il est mort avec les mots 'plus haut' dans la bouche." Such was the end of the "Great Frederick."

He was more feared and admired than beloved, nor was he at all regretted. At no period of his life, indeed, did he inspire affection, nor, probably, feel it warmly for any individual, male or female.

His inhuman treatment of Trenck,[1] whom he seized on neutral ground, and immured in a dungeon of the Star Fort at Magdeburg, where he remained in chains above nine years, excited the abhorrence of all Germany. Trenck took vengeance on Frederick's memory by holding him up to Europe as another Dionysius. His subjects, however, compensated by honours for their deficiency of attachment towards him. Medals were struck at Berlin, where on one side appears his head encircled with a radiated crown, while on the reverse the Genius of Prussia kneeling, her hands extended, invokes him as a tutelary deity in the words of Virgil addressed to the first Cæsar—

"Sis bonus, O felixque tuis!"

Nor are the "terris datus" and the "cœlo redditus" omitted, which mark his apotheosis. Flattery never offered such homage even to Louis XIV. Neither Boileau nor Racine ventured to place him among the gods, though Rubens, in his "Luxembourg Gallery," where the mythology of Greece is strangely blended with Christian allusions, has represented Henry IV. taken up to Mount Olympus. Frederick, as I have been assured, gave directions to bury his body on the lawn before the palace of Sans Souci with his dogs, but a command so repugnant to every sentiment, religious and decorous, was not executed. If we reflect how inferior a rank the Prussian monarchy occupied in the scale of European kingdoms when he acceded to the throne, and how formidable as well as extensive he left it at his decease, we cannot be surprised that his subjects exhausted panegyric on his memory. Frederick William, his nephew and successor, one of the most amiable and worthy sovereigns of our time, pos-

[1] He fled to France, and was guillotined at Paris in 1794 by order of Robespierre.—ED.

sessed almost every quality which his predecessor wanted, and wanted almost every quality which his uncle displayed. He failed, it is true, in the campaign of 1792 in Champagne, and was ultimately reduced three years later to abandon the confederacy formed against France. But would the "Great Frederick" himself, even in the vigour of his age and talents, have succeeded better if he had been compelled to oppose the revolutionary energies of that republic? It may be justly doubted. His tactics, which at Rosbach acquired him so splendid a victory over the generals of Louis XV., would not have enabled him to triumph with equal facility over the troops of an armed nation, animated by a passionate though ferocious love of freedom. His Thuringian laurels might have been changed to cypress on the plains of Champagne. Perhaps in no respect was he more fortunate than in the time when he flourished. If, instead of Prince Charles of Lorraine, of Daun, and of Soltikoff, he had been opposed to Massena, to Ney, and to Bonaparte, who can venture to say what would have been the result? Auërstadt might have taken place half a century earlier; and of Frederick, like Charles XII., it might then have been asserted, that

> "He left the name at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral or adorn a tale."

[*September* 1786.] I passed a part of the autumn at Paris. The affair of the diamond necklace, which during the preceding year had occupied all attention, no longer agitated the minds of its inhabitants. After a long, patient, and minute examination of that mysterious tissue of crimes, the Parliament delivered its sentence on Madame de la Motte-Valois. The punishment inflicted, severe and degrading as it was, by no means exceeded, if indeed it equalled, the enor-

mity of her offences. She was branded with a hot iron, and afterwards transferred to the prison of the Salpetrière, in order there to be confined for the term of her life. Marie Antoinette little imagined that, in the revolution of six years, she should herself be committed to a more severe place of imprisonment, preparatory to ascending the scaffold. The Cardinal de Rohan, who had evidently been made the dupe and the victim of a train of artifices, was declared innocent, but, though judicially acquitted, he could not be exempted from the imputation of most culpable temerity and fatuity. Nor was he permitted to remain at Paris. By order of the sovereign he departed immediately for his abbey of La Chaise Dieu, situate in the sequestered province of Auvergne. The Parliament having, in legal phrase, purged him from the accusation, the Parisians said that "le parlement l'avoit purgé, et le roi l'avoit envoyé à la Chaise." Mademoiselle d'Oliva, who had personated the Queen, was put out of court, the tribunal before which she appeared being convinced that though she aided the accomplishment of Madame de la Motte's nefarious schemes, yet she did not participate in their guilt. While imprisoned in the Bastile she was delivered of a son, and about four years subsequent to her liberation from that fortress she died at the village of Fontenay near Paris, in a state of extreme destitution, aged scarcely twenty-nine years. A more just, moderate, and upright sentence than was pronounced by the Parliament of Paris never, I believe, emanated from any court. We have witnessed judgments in our own time pronounced from the King's Bench in Westminster Hall to which all those epithets could by no means be applied.

[1] Madame de Montespan used to call Père la Chaise the accommodating confessor of Louis XIV.—"une chaise de commodité."—ED.

Notwithstanding the incontestable proofs of the Queen's utter ignorance of the whole atrocious project of Madame de la Motte, yet such were the strong prejudices entertained throughout France against that high-spirited and imprudent princess, that many persons either doubted, or affected to call in question, her innocence. Hume somewhere says, "An English Whig who asserts the reality of the Popish plot under Charles II., an Irish Catholic who denies the massacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices." I should add to this list of persons impervious to common sense the believer in Marie Antoinette's complicity with a vile female adventurer in a series of fraud and villany meriting the galleys. While I am engaged on this subject, I cannot omit to mention that the forgery of Madame de la Motte was not the first attempt made to counterfeit the Queen's signature. Eight years earlier, in March 1777, a lady, wife of a Treasurer-General of Louis XVI.'s household, by name Victoire de Villars, sent a billet signed Marie Antoinette to Mademoiselle Bertin, her Majesty's milliner, ordering some articles of dress. Deceived by the similarity of the handwriting, she complied with the order. Madame de Villars was then about twenty-eight years of age, handsome, gallant, and expensive. The Queen, when informed of the fact, reprimanded and pardoned her. Not deterred by such a proof of royal lenity, she repeated the experiment; but Maurepas, then First Minister, judiciously concealed the fact from Marie Antoinette, and sent the lady to the Bastile. There she remained twenty months, at the end of which time she was transferred to a convent at Paris. She died a short time afterwards

in that confinement. Soon after the termination of Madame de la Motte's trial, the Queen of France brought into the world a daughter, who, happily for herself, survived her birth only a short period. Louis XVI. had already two sons—the Dauphin, whose ill-health and defective configuration did not promise long life, and the Duke of Normandy, born in the preceding year. But he now calculated with such certainty on a third male heir to the throne, that he had already determined on giving the child the title of Duke of Lorraine, a dignity which never had been conferred on any French prince since the acquisition of that duchy and its incorporation with the monarchy. His disappointment and vexation were so great on learning the sex of the new-born infant, that for some time he refused to enter the Queen's bed-chamber. When at length, yielding to the entreaties of those about him, he allowed himself to be conducted to her apartment, he manifested the same ill-humour. Holding out her hand to him, "Comment," said she, "vous me boudez parceque je ne suis pas accouchée d'un garçon? Cela depend-il donc de moi? N'est-ce pas Dieu qui dispose de ces affaires?" Louis, who was most warmly attached to his consort, and too reasonable to resist such an appeal to his understanding, soon resumed his wonted complacency. The court of Versailles in 1786 still exhibited a scene of dissipation, but the augmenting disorder and embarrassment in the finances announced an approaching convulsion. Calonne, to whom their management was intrusted, however able, intelligent, and active he might be, inspired little confidence, because his character for principle and economy by no means equalled his talents.

The Duchess de Polignac, who had passed some time in London on a visit to the French am-

bassador during the summer, returned hastily to France when she received intelligence of the Queen's accouchement. Her favour seemed to augment every year. Scarcely did the Duchesse de Chevreuse under Louis XIII. possess a greater ascendant over Anne of Austria than Madame de Polignac exercised over the affections of Marie Antoinette. Notwithstanding the fatal velocity with which France was annually, though insensibly, propelled towards the gulf of revolution and subversion, yet her councils, sustained by the recollection of American emancipation, which her arms had so recently effected, and directed by Vergennes, still maintained a character throughout Europe for wisdom and vigour. Immense sums were expended at Cherbourg, where, in defiance of nature, the French Ministers appeared to be determined on forming a great naval port and arsenal worthy the genius of Richelieu. Sixteen millions sterling were said to be destined for their completion, and 240 pieces of cannon for their defence. New cones and cassoons sunk in order to form an artificial harbour, perpetually supplied the place of those swallowed up or destroyed by the fury of the winds. With a view to accelerate the progress of so vast a national work, the King, surmounting his habitual inactivity, visited Cherbourg in the course of the summer. Such was the imposing but fallacious aspect of France at this period.

[*November and December* 1786.] An unusual sterility of political transactions deserving notice characterises the close of 1786. Some changes had taken place among the Opposition ranks in both Houses of Parliament. By the decease of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Surrey quitted the Lower House, where his devotion to Fox, joined to his talents, and a coarse but manly eloquence, rendered him

conspicuous as well as useful. If, however, he occasioned a vacancy in that assembly, he reappeared under a higher title in another, which during more than eighty years had not beheld within its walls the first peer of Great Britain.[1] Lord Keppel finished likewise his career at this time, and with him became extinct the viscounty which Lord Rockingham and Fox had compelled George III. to bestow on him, not for his victories over the enemy, but for his sufferings in the cause of party. His name will never be pronounced by posterity in conjunction with those of Hawke, Rodney, Duncan, or Nelson, and it might have been as well for his naval reputation if, instead of placing him at the head of the English fleet in 1778, for which command his state of health rendered him unfit, Lord North and Lord Sandwich had left him in repose.

Eden having surmounted all the impediments opposed to a commercial treaty between England and France, ventured, under cover of so meritorious a public service, to revisit London during the recess of Parliament. Whatever obloquy or reproaches he underwent from his former political friends, he was most graciously received at St. James's, where he presented to his Majesty a portrait of Louis XVI., sent by that prince as a pledge of amity on the present auspicious occasion, when the two countries entered into bands of trade. Eden deservedly acquired great reputation by his success in this complicated, difficult, and important negotiation, which demanded talents of no ordinary kind. He had, indeed, to combat prejudices, enmities, and obstacles, such as few individuals could have overcome. How little success the Duke of Dorset, then our ambassador at the court of Versailles, anticipated from Eden's

[1] The Earl of Surrey abjured the Roman Catholic religion in 1780, and in the same year became member of Parliament for Carlisle.—ED.

mission may be inferred by the manner in which he mentions it when writing to myself. His letter is dated "Paris, 6th of April 1786," not long after Eden's arrival in the French capital. "Eden was presented last Tuesday. He was very graciously received by the King and Queen. His treaty will never come to anything, though he has the most sanguine hopes about it. He is convinced all will be settled in six months. Such an idea, I have already told him, is the height of folly." The Duke, who did not relish so able an interloper in his sheep-fold, would probably have witnessed without deep concern the accomplishment of his own prediction. As I concluded the year 1785 with Eden's defection and appointment, so I shall finish the present year with his successful, or rather triumphant, reappearance on the theatre of public life in London.

[*January* 1787.] While composing the present Memoirs, I have endeavoured carefully to avoid any unnecessary mention of myself, well knowing how little interest the concerns of the author can individually excite in the minds of posterity. I am, nevertheless, about to violate this rule in order to relate a circumstance in which I was the sole actor. During the first days of January I amused myself by writing a "Short Review of the Political State of Great Britain at the Commencement of 1787." In it I delineated with an impartial, but, as I readily admit, an imprudent pen, the character of George III., of Pitt, and of Fox, unmixed with the slightest tinge of enmity or of flattery. Of the Prince of Wales I spoke with due admiration when describing the graces of his figure, manner, conversation, and deportment, all of them formed to captivate mankind, but with becoming severity of the faults and errors of his character.

The production being completed in a very few

days, without communicating my secret to any person whatever, I called on Debrett, a bookseller who had succeeded to the noted Almon in Piccadilly. I made him a present of the manuscript, under one condition only, that of secrecy. Neither he nor I indeed foresaw, nor even imagined, the effect that it would produce, and still less did we anticipate its extensive sale. A few copies of it were sent, by my direction, to certain individuals on Saturday, the 20th of January, but the pamphlet was not published till Monday, the 22d of the month. Yet in the short space of ten days, by the 1st day of February, six editions, each consisting of 1000 or 1500 copies, were already sold. On the 23d of February appeared a French translation of it, entitled "Coup-d'œil sur l'Etat Politique de la Grande Bretagne au Commencement de l'Année 1787. Traduit de l'Anglois sur la sixième édition." The French translator enriched his work with annotations. Six answers were made to the pamphlet within four weeks from its publication, one of which was universally, and, I apprehend, justly attributed to Lord Erskine, then Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales. To Francis, since become Sir Philip Francis, common report assigned another of these replies. Major Scott assumed the fact, and reasoned on it when addressing the House of Commons in his defence of Mr. Hastings on the 8th of February. Nor did Francis deny it. Scott having stigmatised the reply "as a most atrocious and infamous attempt to oppress a man already persecuted," then added, "We all know that a pamphlet was published lately, which, though not universally approved, has been universally read. It has already gone through seven editions, and I am assured that the publisher expects to sell 20,000 copies of it. Among those suspected or named as its author,

Mr. Hastings himself, and various of his friends, have been mentioned. The publisher has, however, publicly and unreservedly declared that neither Mr. Hastings, nor any person either directly or indirectly connected with him, composed that work." In fact, conscious that the writer had made numerous enemies by the boldness and impartiality of the portraits there sketched, I retained the secret in my own bosom, and this posthumous avowal is the first that I have ever publicly made on the subject. The "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," the "Letters of Junius," the "Pursuits of Literature," and many other anonymous productions published in my time, though confidently attributed to particular individuals, have never been owned. I believe we have no certainty that "Gulliver's Travels" were written by Swift, yet no doubt is entertained on the point.

Debrett assured me that the servants sent from every part of London to procure the pamphlet in question, burst into his shop, and almost tore it off the counter, many, as he believed, without paying for it. His shop became, indeed, during successive days, a scene of altercation and dispute relative to the author, some individuals extolling, while others equally condemned the work. All nevertheless admitted that the person who composed it well knew the characters whom he described. The Prince of Wales expressed great indignation at the parts of the performance which related to himself. He even sent his Attorney-General repeatedly to Debrett, peremptorily demanding to know from him the name of the writer, menacing, if he withheld it, to make him personally responsible, and to prosecute him for a libel. But Debrett replied, that the author having given him the work, which to him had proved a source of such profit, and having bound him to sec-

recy, he neither could, in honour nor in gratitude, betray the trust reposed in him. The Prince's threats, perhaps intended only for purposes of intimidation, produced no consequence. Seven years afterwards, conversing with Debrett on the subject, I asked him what number of copies he had sold. He answered, "At least, as he believed, 17,000," but he added, that "not having entered the work at Stationers' Hall, as he ought to have done, it was surreptitiously printed at Edinburgh and at Dublin, where vast numbers were sold." I desired him to state on paper, as a matter of curiosity, the extent of the sale in his own shop. He did so, and I transcribe the note from his original, now lying before me:—

"SIR,—In answer to your question, I am of opinion that upwards of 17,000 copies of the 'Short Review,' &c., were sold by, sir, your much obliged and most humble servant, JOHN DEBRETT.

"Piccadilly, Jan. 28, 1794."

I now resume the thread of my narration.

[*8th January* 1787.] Early in the present month died Sir William Draper, a man hardly better known to posterity by his capture of Manilla[1] than by his correspondence with "Junius." Sir William was of obscure extraction, but endowed with talents which, whether exerted in the field or in the closet, entitled him to great consideration. His vanity, which led him to call his house at Clifton near Bristol "Manilla Hall," and there to erect a cenotaph to his fellow-soldiers who fell before that city during the siege, exposed him to invidious comments. But Lord Amherst, in whom vanity was not a predominant

[1] When he had captured Manilla in 1762, instead of plundering the city, he agreed to accept bills on Madrid for one million sterling, which bills the Spanish Government refused to honour.—D.

passion, gave in like manner the name of "Montreal" to his seat in Kent. Sir William was doubtless impelled by the desire of displaying his intimacy with the Marquis of Granby to take up his pen in that nobleman's defence. "Junius's" obligation to his officious friendship was indelible; for, however admirably written may be his letter of the 21st of January 1769, which opened the series of those celebrated compositions, it was Draper's answer, with his signature annexed to it, that drew all eyes towards the two literary combatants.

Great as were "Junius's" talents, yet, if he had been left to exhale his resentment without notice or reply, he might have found it difficult to concentre on himself the attention of all England. But the instant that Sir William avowedly entered the lists as Lord Granby's champion, a new interest was awakened in the public mind. From the employment which he had voluntarily undertaken of defending his friend, he was speedily compelled to defend himself—"Junius," after exposing the Commander-in-Chief to national condemnation and derision, turning round upon Draper. In vain did the imprudent auxiliary, pressed by questions of the most painful description, which he had drawn upon his own head, endeavour to provoke his invisible adversary to meet him in Hyde Park. "Junius," while he admitted that the appeal to the sword was consistent enough with Sir William's late profession, demanded, "After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier?" Nor did he fail to point out the absurdity of attacking an anonymous writer, and then expecting him to quit his incognito and to declare his real name. Sir William was so injudicious as to renew the correspondence six months

after its first termination. But he derived no advantage from it. "Junius" treated him as the Marchioness de Chaves' secretary treated Gil Blas—disarmed and dismissed him. Yet Draper's letters, if they could be considered separately from those of his antagonist, are classical and elegant productions. When perused, as Sir William's must ever be, in conjunction with the answers made by "Junius," they shrink into comparative inferiority.

[*23d January* 1787.] The session of Parliament at length opened under circumstances of extraordinary tranquillity and unanimity. It eventually proved one of the shortest that has taken place during the present reign, having only lasted a few days more than four months, while Lord North's Parliaments, which were usually convoked in November, rarely rose before July. The treaty of commerce recently concluded by Eden formed the prominent feature of his Majesty's speech. Perhaps, however, I ought not to omit the intended formation of a settlement on the coast of New Holland, destined to receive the malefactors with which the prisons of the kingdom overflowed, a measure rather indicated than announced, but which was carried into execution at this time. As the inability of the leaders of Opposition to divide the House with the slightest hope of success was well known, the attendance bore a proportion to their diminished consideration. Fox and Burke indeed were present, but Sheridan did not appear in his place. Mr. Matthew Montagu seconded the address to the throne. It was of him that General Montagu Matthew, brother to the Earl of Landaff, said in the last House of Commons (upon some mistakes arising relative to their identity, produced by the similarity of their appellations), "I wish it to be understood that there is no more likeness between Montagu Matthew and

Matthew Montagu than between a chestnut horse and a horse chestnut." Mr. Montagu's paternal name was Robinson, but the celebrated Mrs. Montagu, his aunt, who so long occupied the first place among the *gens de lettres* in London, having adopted him as her heir, he received her husband's name. At her feet he was brought up, a school more adapted to form a man of taste and improvement than a statesman or a man of the world. At her decease he inherited not only her ample landed property, but her palace (as it would be denominated at Rome or at Naples), situated in Portman Square. Yet thus highly favoured by fortune, and presumptive heir to an Irish barony [1] (Rokeby), he has always resembled Pope's "Curio," of whom the poet says that—

> ——"Curio, restless by the fair one's side,
> Sighs for an Otho, and neglects his bride." [2]

Mr. Montagu's sighs have not indeed been directed to the attainment of a medal, but to the acquisition of a more solid object.

This gentleman, after eulogising in animated language the "Commercial Treaty," as forming more than a compensation for the monopoly of the American market lost to Great Britain, by a natural transition reverted to the Minister whose genius had effected so beneficial a work. Regardless of the embarrassment which his own praises, however merited they might be, must excite in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who sat just below him, Montagu dilated on his resplendent public services. "These," he said, "justly entitled him to equal

[1] Succeeded his brother as fourth Baron Rokeby in 1829. He was born November 23, 1762, and died September 1, 1831.—ED.

[2] The Quarterly Reviewer (lvii. 469) points out that Mr. Montagu's large family of ten or twelve sons and daughters proved that he did not neglect his bride.—ED.

honours with those earned by his illustrious father. Exalted as the Earl of Chatham's glory had been in war, not less should the son attain in the annals of peace." It might have been thought that such a panegyric, when aided by time and circumstances, formed no bad foundation for an English peerage. Yet though Mr. Montagu has been a member of various Parliaments, and has represented many Cornish boroughs between 1787 and 1812, never apparently losing sight of his object, and occasionally directing his eloquence to its attainment, his efforts have hitherto failed of success. Whether this fact is to be explained by his want of ability, of address, or of perseverance, it is certain that the doors of the British House of Peers seem to be closed against him. He still remains a commoner. Fox, while he paid some compliments to Montagu's maiden speech, did not treat with the less derision his predictions of the future financial or commercial benefits that would flow from Eden's treaty. He even indulged in some very severe animadversion's on the policy of entering into such connections with France, described Ministers as in the honeymoon of their new union with that power, depictured Louis XVI. as more formidable than Louis XIV. had ever been, and declared that he thought it necessary to protest against the French mode of talking introduced on that evening. He concluded, nevertheless, by giving the address his affirmative.

Pitt, who did not fail to perceive this inconsistency, instantly exposed it with all the force of ridicule. He then entered with great ability on the defence of the system itself, which he depictured as fraught with advantages to both countries. "France and England," said Pitt, "have by their past conduct acted as if nature had intended them

for mutual destruction. But I trust the time is now arrived when they shall justify the beneficent order of the universe, and demonstrate to mankind that they can systematically cultivate a friendly intercourse, cemented by mutual benevolence." Having discussed the subject in a manner equally lucid and masterly, yet less diffusely than Fox had done, "I am happy," concluded he, "that notwithstanding the vehemence with which the right honourable gentleman has argued against the address, he is ready to vote for it. I hope he will continue the same line of action throughout the session; for if he makes a practice of voting in direct opposition to his own speeches and arguments, we may look for a greater degree of unanimity than we can otherwise expect." With this sarcastic remark the debate closed, no person rising on either side of the House to prolong it, though Fox offered a few words of explanation. His inferiority in strength could not be more clearly manifested, nor the parliamentary supremacy of the Minister more triumphantly exhibited. The mutability of human affairs was forcibly exemplified on that day. Three years earlier, upon the 23d of January 1784, Fox, then completely in possession of a devoted majority, after throwing out Pitt's East India Bill, might have carried almost any vote, however violent, against him. In January 1787 Fox's numbers had sunk so low that he did not venture on a division, while his antagonist, confirmed in power, popular, and master of both Houses, beheld himself, though not yet twenty-eight, more completely arbiter of the Cabinet than his father had ever been at any moment of the last or of the present reign.

[*26th January—6th February* 1787.] Sheridan, to whom was committed the task of bringing forward the third charge against Hastings, gave notice of his

intention to move it early in February. It was only delayed during a few days in consequence of a wish expressed to examine previously Mr. Middleton, who had been Resident or Minister at Lucknow, and likewise Sir Elijah Impey, both of whom appearing at the bar, underwent a most severe interrogatory. Pitt manifested, on the other hand, no less impatience to enter on the examination of the commercial treaty with France, but Fox strenuously resisted any precipitation relative to a point of such magnitude and importance. With great earnestness he deprecated the slightest violation of the subsisting treaties with Portugal, and loudly demanded, as a necessary preliminary to all debate on a subject so new as well as so intricate, that a call of the House should take place. After various ineffectual attempts, during several successive days, to attain it by concession on the part of the Minister, who maintained that it was unnecessary, the question came to issue. A more angry and personal altercation than arose on that evening could scarcely have occurred in a French "constituent assembly," Cornwall the Speaker not interposing his authority, as he ought to have done, for moderating such intemperate warmth. Pitt having moved "to take into consideration on the 13th of February the treaty recently signed between his Majesty and the most Christian King," Lord George Cavendish,[1] uncle to the Duke of Devonshire, proposed to substitute as an amendment the words "20th of February." Lord George, who then represented the county of Derby, possessed very limited talents, but his rank, his fortune, and the hereditary probity of the Cavendish family, which in no individual of that line was more recognised than in him, supplied the place of ability, Nor

[1] Created Earl of Burlington. Henry Cavendish, the philosopher, left him his wealth.—ED.

had Fox a more zealous adherent within those walls.

Burke exhibited a total want of self-control throughout the whole discussion. "The Chancellor of the Exchequer," said he, "with that confined intellect which leads men of narrow views to look at great objects through contracted mediums, seems to consider this treaty as a mere commercial matter. He regards it as the concern of two little counting-houses, not of two rival states, as if the sign of the Fleur-de-Lis and the sign of the Red Lion were contending which house should obtain the best custom. I see it in a more national point of view. We are about to unite with that power against which nature, not less than policy, has designed us to form a balance." The Minister having in the course of the evening severely attacked Fox, "When animadversion," exclaimed Burke, "is seasoned by wit, the satire, though keen, becomes softened. But when gross, miserable, and stupid abuse assumes the character of admonition, it recoils on its author. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declares that he had the misfortune to sit for a short period in my friend's place. No doubt he spoke from his feelings, for, to an aspiring young man, never easy except in the possession of power, a situation on this side of the House must necessarily be irksome. Mounted as he is on a stage, and exhibiting with his merrymen about him, by the aid of a ladder which a state carpenter has contrived, scarcely does he deign even to look on creatures so low as the Opposition."

Wilberforce interposing, expressed his concern that a person possessed of such endowments should be enslaved by his own temper. But Pitt did not commit his defence to any lips except his own. "I appeal," said he, "to the judgment of all present

whether a speech more abusive, more personal, or more outrageous, has ever been heard. With his character, he has lost all command over himself, and he now rarely speaks without exciting an equal mixture of disgust and of compassion." Fox, with calmness and moderation, endeavoured to protect his friend, if he had been capable of hearing reason. Instead, however, of repressing his violence, he gave it the rein. Yet not without demonstrating that even in his fall he knew how to draw his robe with grace about him. "I thank the Chancellor of the Exchequer," said Burke, "for his compassion; I even regard the obligation as greater because he has so little to spare. With respect to his contempt, that being a commodity in which he deals largely, I return it on his hands as of no sort of value." A division taking place, Ministers carried the question by a vast majority, only eighty-nine individuals supporting Lord George Cavendish's motion, while it was negatived by 213.

That Burke exposed himself to much censure on that evening by his intemperate conduct, whereas Fox displayed great self-control, cannot be disputed. We must not, however, overlook the essential difference in their positions and in their formation of mind. Fox, endowed by nature with uncommon suavity and placability of disposition, was rarely thrown off his guard, and he might still be considered as young, having only just completed his thirty-eighth year. The death of his nephew, Lord Holland, then a boy of thirteen, might at any moment have placed him in the House of Peers, and once more have put him in possession of an ample fortune. A change of sovereigns would infallibly raise him again to power, and render him master of the Cabinet. Marriage, a state for which he betrayed no aversion, opened to him the means

of repairing all his losses at play, if he contracted an advantageous alliance. The buoyancy of his temper, sustained by conviviality, society, and amusement, did not allow him to sink under the inconveniences of poverty. Carlton House and Brookes's Club still prolonged his nights, while Mrs. Siddons attracted him to the theatre, and in Belvidere or in Callista charmed away for the moment all painful recollections of political defeat or exclusion from office. How often have I seen him, seated in the orchestra of Drury Lane Theatre among the musicians, for the purpose of more accurately hearing and viewing that incomparable actress, pay her the copious tribute of his tears!

But widely different was Burke's situation, and far less exhilarating were his prospects. His original patron, the Marquis of Rockingham, being dead, he could only look to the Duke of Portland for future remuneration, if ever the party of which he constituted the head should again force their way into the royal closet. Linked with Fox, their destinies appeared to be inseparable, nor did Burke foresee at that time how soon the ties which united them would be rent asunder. Still less did he anticipate that the "aspiring young man, surrounded by his merrymen, and mounted on Jenkinson's shoulders," would extend support to his declining age and smooth the evening of his day. Scarcely more than six years elapsed before I saw Burke seated on the Treasury bench between Pitt and Dundas. In 1787 he was verging towards sixty, and could not, like Fox, extend his views to any remote futurity. His temper, naturally irritable and impatient of contradiction, became sharpened by disappointments. Nor could he find resources in the clubs of St. James's Street, in the boxes of Drury Lane Theatre, or in the orgies of Carlton

House. At his retreat near Beaconsfield he would, indeed, have tasted all the felicity which a classic mind could derive from retirement, letters, and a learned leisure; but contracted finances, together with the toil of parliamentary attendance, embittered his enjoyments. Of fame he had sufficient, and he was weary of political opposition, yet unable to retire from Parliament, which to him had afforded no harvest except bays. So pressing, indeed, were his wants become in 1793, that I have been assured he sold the two pensions of £1800 each for three lives, then granted him by the crown, without almost a week's delay. They were put up to sale on the Exchange, and produced about £36,000. The present Earl of Hardwicke is one of those three lives, as his son, the late Lord Royston, was another. To the French Revolution and its sanguinary excesses he therefore owed the independence of his last years. He even owed more; for the efforts of mind that he exerted to stem the torrent of subversion and to awaken resistance among the powers of Europe redeemed his character in the estimation of the country. After the King's recovery from his first great intellectual malady in 1789, Burke had fallen very low in the general opinion. I repeat, however, that, all circumstances considered, Burke appears most resplendent, as well as exempt from imputations of inconsistency, previous to Lord North's resignation.

[*7th February* 1787.] The acrimonious debate to which I have alluded was followed on the subsequent evening by the most splendid display of eloquence and talent which has been exhibited in the House of Commons during the present reign. This pre-eminence seems to be accorded by all parties to Sheridan's memorable speech respecting Hastings's treatment of the Begums or Princesses of Oude. It

occupied considerably more than five hours in the delivery, attracted the most intense attention, and was succeeded at its close by a general involuntary pause or hum of admiration, which lasted several minutes. Unquestionably it formed a most extraordinary effort of human genius, labour, and wit, stamped throughout with the characteristic marks of Sheridan's genius; for no man accustomed to his style of composition, oral or written, could for an instant mistake the author. In many parts and passages it was absolutely dramatic, not less so than the "Duenna" or the "School for Scandal." Those pieces belong indeed to comedy, while the charge in question partook, it may be said, of the nature of tragedy. Yet so admirably could Sheridan adapt his theme to circumstances, that he contrived to lend point to incidents the most revolting, and excited smiles while detailing scenes of the deepest distress. Burke, it is true, frequently passed with rapid transitions from indignation or invective to raillery or levity; but he was borne away by an ardent imagination that often outran his reason. Sheridan's invocations, allusions, and exclamations the most pathetic, though clothed with all the garb of nature or of passion, were not less the fruit of consummate art and mature reflection. He neither lost his temper, his memory, nor his judgment throughout the whole performance, blending the legal accuracy of the bar when stating facts or depositions of witnesses with the most impassioned appeals to justice, pity, and humanity. Availing himself with dexterity of the ample materials which the subject offered him, presenting objects to the imagination under forms the most picturesque, appalling, and impressive, he led captive his audience, of whom a large proportion was very incapable of discriminating truth from misrepresentation or exaggeration. The

very scene of these transactions, which lay in Asia, on the banks of the Ganges or the Jumna, the personages who performed the principal parts,—viziers, princesses, eunuchs, and rajahs, zenanas and harems entered by violence, jaghires arbitrarily resumed, and treasures seized on by military force,—all these accessories, when decorated with the charms of oratory, subdued his hearers, and left them in breathless admiration, accompanied or followed by conviction.

I have said that many passages were dramatic. It was thus that he compared the Governor-General of Bengal successively to a number of animate or inanimate things. "He is," said Sheridan, "a mixture of the trickster and the tyrant, at once a Scapin and a Dionysius. A crooked, circuitous policy regulates all his actions. He can no more go straightforward to his object than a snake can proceed without writhing in curves or can imitate the undeviating swiftness of an arrow. He boasts of his resources—namely, Cheyt Sing and the Begums —precisely as a highwayman would boast of Bagshot and Hounslow."—"The unfortunate inhabitants of Oude remind me of a collection of birds, who, observing a felon kite in the air, dread his approach as they behold him mount with redoubled vigour on the wing, accumulated vengeance depictured in his eye, prepared to pounce on his destined prey with assurance of success." Having described the acts of horror perpetrated in the palace of Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, "Great God of justice!" exclaimed he, "canst Thou, from Thy eternal throne, look down upon such premeditated outrages, and not affix on the perpetrators some signal mark of divine displeasure!" This is the very sentiment expressed by Marcus in the opening scene of the first act of "Cato." "The only emblem," Sheridan

asserted, "which could aptly designate Hastings in his public capacity was that of a man holding in one hand a bloody sceptre while with the other he was employed in picking pockets." Having attributed to him almost every crime which can stain or debase our nature—cruelty, fraud, hypocrisy, venality, rapacity, and breach of faith—having protested that in the pages of Machiavel no acts of similar atrocity were to be found—having accused him of accepting "a present, or rather a bribe, of £100,000"—having expatiated on his inhumanity in turning out to the merciless seasons and a more merciless soldiery the wife and the mother of Sujah Dowlah, whom that prince, at the moment of his decease, had intrusted to the Governor-General's protection,—Sheridan then made his appeal to the moral feelings and character of the House. It was conceived with great beauty, and well calculated to produce the deepest impression. "This," said he, "is no party question. However divided we may be on political matters, we shall, I trust, join hand and heart in reprobating inhumanity and delivering over to punishment those who use unlimited authority for purposes of tyranny and oppression."

It must not, however, be imagined that the whole weight of Sheridan's eloquence fell exclusively on Hastings. Two other individuals shared it with him. The first was Sir Elijah Impey, Chief-Justice of Bengal, who having lent his legal co-operation and assistance to the seizure of the treasures possessed by the Princesses of Oude, had repaired in person to that province, nine hundred miles distant from the seat of Government, in order to take the necessary depositions. In terms of bitter raillery mixed with classic wit Sheridan held up to derision and reprobation "the Grotius of India, degrading the dignity of his high office, laying aside

the character of a judge, and soiling his pure ermine by condescending to execute the functions of a pettifogging attorney, running up and down the country ferreting out affidavits, and carrying them upon his shoulders in a bundle, like a pedlar with his pack."—"Sir Elijah says," continued Sheridan, "he gave his advice, not as a judge, but as a friend, and in that character he took the affidavits. Friendship impelled him to scud up and down India, made him oblivious of all he owed to himself and to the majesty of justice."

The third person at whose expense Sheridan exercised his talents was Middleton, Minister during these transactions from the Bengal Government to the Nabob of Oude. He had returned to England with a vast fortune. During the course of his examination, his recollection relative to many events which took place while he was the British Resident at Lucknow seemed to be so completely worn out that no traces of their existence could be elicited from him by the closest interrogatory. We have, however, seen him outdone in this respect by an Italian at the bar of the House of Lords.[1] Such a total and unaccountable oblivion of recent facts performed, or at least witnessed by himself, obtained for him the appellation of "Memory Middleton," as *lucus a non lucendo.* "In the persecution of the Begums," observed Sheridan, "an army was sent to execute an arrest, a siege was undertaken for a note of hand, and a rebellion was proved by affidavit. There was a trading general (Colonel Hannay), an auctioneer, ambassador, and a chief-judge secretary." The antithesis of these expressions entertained even those who were the most disinclined to agree in his assertions or deductions. Never was the triumph of genius over a

[1] "Non mi ricordo" was the constant reply of the Italian courier when under examination at Queen Caroline's trial.—ED.

popular assembly more signally displayed than in the speech of Sheridan.

After the first tumult of applause had subsided, an attempt was made to adjourn by Sir William Dolben, who stated the general exhaustion of the House as a reason for postponing the discussion. But Fox opposed it, observing that the hour (twelve) by no means justified a suspension of the debate. "It is pretty obvious," added he, "that the speech just delivered has made no ordinary impression, and I see no reason why we may not come to the question. If any friend of Mr. Hastings should wish to offer arguments calculated to efface that impression, the present moment appears to me the fit time for doing it." Major Scott declaring that he could convict Sheridan of many gross misrepresentations of fact, and professing his readiness to proceed instantly, if such should be the pleasure of the House, Pitt interposed. "I will not," said he, "at present state in what way I have made up my mind to vote. Yet I mean to deliver my sentiments at large upon the motion. With regard to the speech which we have heard, it has unquestionably produced all the effect which genius can command. A more able speech has perhaps never been pronounced; but I can by no means agree that because one dazzling display of oratory has been exhibited, other gentlemen ought to be precluded from giving their opinions. For these reasons, I, for one, wish an immediate adjournment." Fox by no means concurred, however, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he sustained his dissent by very plausible arguments. "My honourable friend," observed he, "has spoken ably. But why has he so done? It is because he exerted himself in a right cause, because he has a heart capable of sympathising with the woes of those

whose innocence and defenceless condition claim protection. His speech has been denominated eloquent. Eloquent, no doubt, it is; so much so, indeed, that all I have ever read or heard of oratory, either in this assembly or elsewhere, sinks to nothing in the comparison. But why adjourn, except because the arguments offered being unanswerable, it is wished to gain time, with a view of substituting negotiation, manœuvre, and delay in the place of truth and reason?"

Before he sat down, Fox addressing himself personally to Pitt, implored him, from regard to his own character, as well as for the character of the House, not to vote against the question. While urging this point, having used language bordering on invective, he was severely reprehended by Wilberforce. With the liberality of mind which always characterised him, Fox instantly made reparation. "I protest," said he, "it was not my intention to give offence. We are both (meaning the Chancellor of the Exchequer and himself) too apt to say harsher things to each other than are perhaps warrantable. On my part, these asperities of expression are, I am pretty certain, generally unprovoked, but they take place much too frequently." So placable and prompt to obliterate all recollections of a vindictive nature was Fox. His antagonist by no means manifested equal suavity of disposition. Spencer Stanhope, one of the two representatives for Hull, avowed that "his mind was nearly made up by the almost miraculous speech which he had just heard." And Matthew Montagu declared that "his opinion respecting the treatment of the Begums, which, when he came down to the House, he thought was settled, had been shaken if not overturned." Such were the effects of that fascinating composition. We must nevertheless bear in mind that these conversions were

moral, not political. The affair stood unconnected with party, though the prosecution originated with Opposition. On whichever side the Minister might ultimately vote, his official situation would remain the same. If the "Westminster scrutiny" or the "Irish propositions" had formed the subject of Sheridan's attack, his pathetic appeals to justice and humanity would not probably have made such numerous proselytes on the Ministerial benches. Many persons even considered as ludicrous invocations to the "God of justice" solemnly pronounced by a man whose whole life formed a perpetual act of private injustice towards his own creditors, and who owed his personal liberty to his seat in the House of Commons. The adjournment was at length carried without any division.

[*8th February* 1787.] On the resumption of the debate, Major Scott endeavoured to counteract the recent effect of Sheridan's eloquence by contrasting the calamities and disgraces which befell us in every other quarter of the globe with the acquisitions of territory gained in the East between 1776 and 1783 under Hastings's administration. Having shown that Dundas had moved for the recall of Hastings in May 1782, "because, in his opinion, the Governor-General had forfeited the confidence of the native princes of India and could not conclude a peace," Scott observed that, most unfortunately for Dundas's assertion, Hastings did actually conclude an honourable peace with the Mahrattas in the very month, and almost on the very day, when the motion to which he alluded was made in the House. "I have since," added Scott, "heard him avow within these walls his satisfaction at the resistance made by the Court of East India Proprietors to that vote, because he was convinced they had thereby rendered a

very essential service to the Company and to Great Britain." Turning to the members of the Opposition, he demanded why, if they considered Hastings's treatment of the Princesses of Oude as so criminal, they did not remove and recall him when they were themselves in office in 1783. Scott next proceeded to answer the specific accusation of seizing the treasures of the Begums, adducing a great variety of evidence to prove that those Princesses had taken part in the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, and had actually raised troops with intent to support his cause. As the last and best proof of Hastings's public merit in committing the very act now criminally charged against him, Scott depictured the critical situation of our empire in the East between October 1780 and the commencement of the year 1783—assailed on every quarter, and menaced monthly with subversion; Hyder Ally at the gates of Madras pursuing our defeated troops, while the fleet of France, under Suffrein, remained cruising unopposed in the Bay of Bengal; Sir Eyre Coote, who commanded the forces sent to oppose Hyder, looking solely to the government-general for the payment of his army, on which depended the fate of India; the Bengal treasury empty, and the pay of the soldiery, European as well as native, many months in arrear. "One fact," concluded Scott, "no man can doubt, namely, that the sum procured from the Princesses of Oude could not have been raised from any other source. And without that supply we might now have been debating here how Mr. Hastings should be impeached, not for saving, but for losing India."

These arguments and facts, though not decorated with the fascinating ornaments of Sheridan's eloquence, yet made at the time, and still continue, after the lapse of more than thirty years, to pro-

duce on my mind the deepest conviction of their solidity. Such was not, however, their effect on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose speech drew more than ordinary attention, as on his mode of seeing the charge and of voting upon it no man doubted must depend Hastings's acquittal or condemnation.

Pitt did not leave it long uncertain on which side he should give his vote. After observing that as he had always considered the present charge to be marked apparently with the strongest features of criminality and cruelty, so he had endeavoured most conscientiously to guard against any sort of prejudice, he added, that he had compared the accusation minutely with the evidence. The interval which had elapsed since the unprecedented display of oratory exhibited on the preceding night having allowed him to recover from its immediate impression, and to examine the proofs adduced in its support, he was now ready to concur with the motion. Yet he admitted the resumption of the jaghires to be highly justifiable, though he condemned the seizure of the Begums' treasures. If their confiscation was an act of forfeiture designed to operate as an example of severity, or even on the pretext of state necessity, provided the facts were well established, in either case, he said, he should acquit the Governor-General of all culpability. But he professed himself unable to discover any such sources of justification. Sheridan acknowledged the liberality of Pitt's proceeding, and Fox, though with less animation, joined in recognition of the Minister's candour.

While the leaders on both sides thus united against an individual who, by the resources which he called into action, had saved India when attacked by a combination of European and Asiatic

enemies, no person of eminence or of distinguished talents came forward in his defence. Silence pervaded the Treasury bench; neither Mr. William Grenville, nor Lord Mulgrave, nor the Master of the Rolls, nor the Attorney-General uttering a word in his justification. The Solicitor-General (Macdonald)[1] alone declared, that as, whatever opinion he might form relative to the charge under examination, he never could agree to an impeachment, he therefore should not vote on the pending question. Dempster[2] had, however, the honesty to rise and oppose the current, as did Le Mesurier,[3] one of the members for Southwark; but the latter was compelled to desist by loud and repeated cries of "Question." Only sixty-eight persons negatived Sheridan's proposition; 175 found Hastings culpable.

Dundas, though he took no part in the discussion, voted with the Minister. Lord North was not present during any part of the evening. His health and his sight, both which betrayed symptoms of decay, allowed him rarely to attend in his place or to take any active share in debate. I voted with the minority on that night, and I believe, if the subject could be agitated anew, I should act again in the same manner. Not that I am convinced of the complicity of the Begums in the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, which was by no means satisfactorily demonstrated. Nor do I conceive that, on principles of private morality, the act of seizing on their treasures can be justified. But the peril to the state was extreme. The deed had been done, and Bengal was saved by that most timely operation of despotic power. If ever any act rested on over-

[1] Sir Alexander Macdonald. See vol. iii. p. 398.—ED.
[2] George Dempster, M.P. for Forfar Burghs.—ED.
[3] Paul Le Mesurier.—ED.

whelming state necessity for its justification, this was the measure. Yet Pitt affected not to perceive, or not to recognise it. I say, affected; for no man endowed with reason could deny the awful and alarming state of our Eastern possessions at that eventful period, when the energy and resources of Hastings snatched them from destruction.

It was not even pretended that the Princesses in question had committed their cause to the exertions of Burke, as the Sicilians intrusted the redress of Verres's exactions to the eloquence of Cicero, who having himself filled the office of quæstor in the island, had witnessed the enormities of which he complained, whereas Burke and his friends only collected their information from the Governor-General's implacable enemies. With as little truth could it be asserted that Hastings had converted the money thus taken to his own use, as Rumbold did in his treatment of the Nabob of Arcot. He had, it is true, received a present from Asoph Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, amounting in value to nearly £100,000, but he carried it to the Company's account. He accompanied that act with the expression of a wish that they would confer it on himself. Well, indeed, might he make such a request, when, after having passed his whole life in the Company's service, he had not acquired even such a competence as almost every civil servant contrived to amass in the course of ten or twelve years. And who were the men to impeach Hastings? The same individuals who, only four years earlier, having, by a sacrifice of all public principle in uniting with Lord North, forced their way into the Cabinet, and finding themselves odious to the sovereign while they had lost the confidence of the country, attempted to seize, not the treasure of an individual, but the property and possessions of a

great chartered company. Nay, who undertook to unhinge the British constitution itself in order to consolidate their own power; an act of criminal ambition and liberticide with which Pitt reproached them day by day. Yet with these very men he now joined to oppress one of the few British subjects who during the eclipse of the American war, placed as he was in a situation equally eminent and perilous, had preserved the extensive provinces intrusted to his care. Posterity will probably affix its condemnation to such a line of policy, which, as it appears to me, was unworthy of a statesman, whose first duty should have impelled him to extend a shield over the preserver of India, even though he might not have privately approved every measure of Hastings's administration.

[*9th—28th February* 1787.] After the termination of the charge relative to the Princesses of Oude, no further progress was made in the prosecution during the remainder of the month of February, almost every evening being exclusively occupied in discussions respecting the commercial treaty with France. It opened, indeed, a field of speculation, argument, and dispute, not less ample, and scarcely less important, than the Irish propositions had presented in 1785. Fox and Pitt assumed, throughout every debate which arose on the treaty, opinions and principles by no means analogous to their respective characters. The former, whose enlarged mind and placable disposition should naturally have inclined or impelled him to embrace a policy favourable to the extinction of ancient enmities between the two countries, seemed to have adopted an opposite system. He constantly maintained that France should be prospectively considered, not only as a rival nation, but with an eye of jealousy and distrust incompatible with any approach towards political or

commercial connection. This position Fox endeavoured to demonstrate and to impress by appeals to experience in past periods of our history. Pitt, on the other hand, cast by nature in a more anti-Gallican mould, and formed of more unaccommodating materials, exhibited an ardent desire to enter into bands of amity cemented by reciprocal advantages with the court of Versailles. Nor did he fail to elucidate and to recommend the proposition by a train of reasoning calculated for persuading even those persons who had imbibed the most inveterate hereditary prepossessions on the subject. This seeming exchange of characters might nevertheless admit of explanation by comparing the respective situations of the two individuals. The Minister, anxious to repair the financial breaches made by a calamitous war, eagerly embraced measures which promised an increase of revenue, an extension of trade, and a new market for our manufactures. I believe Fox, if he had held a place in the Cabinet, would have seen nearly through the same optics, and would have been actuated by similar views of public benefit. But his exclusion from office naturally influenced, if not his judgment, yet his line of parliamentary conduct.

Lord North, on account of the state of his health, never once made his appearance in the House during the agitation of this important question. His place was, however, supplied by Sir Grey Cooper, who took part in almost every discussion, and who yielded to few in his accurate knowledge of the complicated interests which it included. Sheridan opposed the measure with great pertinacity, substituting, when necessary, wit and ingenuity in the place of solid argument. If the leaders of Opposition could have excited the principal manufacturers throughout the kingdom to petition against

the French treaty, as they did in the case of the Irish propositions, Administration might have been embarrassed by such an impediment. But with the exception of a very limited number, the manufacturing towns and counties expressed opinions highly favourable to the Ministerial plans. Fox, who, when introducing his celebrated East India Bill, had allowed Parliament no time to pause, complained heavily of the indecent haste with which he said the actual measure was propelled through its different stages. Finding himself unable by remonstrances to produce an adjournment, he quitted the House, followed by all his friends, after protesting against such ill-advised precipitancy, which he declared would entail disgrace on the councils of the crown. But Pitt, sustained by the general approbation, was not deterred by these denunciations. Unable to make any deep impression on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sheridan turned his artillery against the absent negotiator of the treaty, whom he overwhelmed with contumelious ridicule. "I trust," said Sheridan, "that when he returns to his duty in this assembly, he will publicly declare his error in almost every opinion which he maintained relative to the Irish propositions. And I hope he will address circular letters to the manufacturers, assuring them that he has not renounced one of his commercial principles or doctrines, though he has adopted new ones for the present business, which he will be ready, however, again to abandon as soon as he sets foot in England." Pitt did not undertake the personal defence of Eden, perhaps from a consciousness that these reproaches, however severe, were in some degree just. On every division Ministers carried the question by more than two to one. I was in all the majorities, being fully persuaded then, as I am now, that no

measure adopted by Pitt during his long Administration was more calculated to augment the national prosperity, while it tended insensibly to extinguish the animosity between France and Great Britain, than the commercial treaty.

The Opposition, however diminished in numbers the party might be, received at this time a most valuable accession of talents in the person of Mr. Grey, afterwards Earl Grey.[1] He had been elected member for the county of Northumberland late in the last session, when, on the decease of the Duke of that name, Lord Algernon Percy succeeded to the peerage as Lord Lovaine. Grey sprung from a very noble and ancient stock. His father, a general officer of merit, decorated with the Order of the Bath, was the younger brother and presumptive heir of Sir Henry Grey, a baronet of George II.'s creation. Mr. Grey, when he first took his seat in the House of Commons, had not long accomplished his two-and-twentieth year. His figure, tall and elegantly formed, prepossessed in his favour. The smiles of the Duchess of Devonshire, and her blandishments, which few persons at any period of life could resist, were believed to have operated very powerfully in attaching him to the party that she espoused; for he seemed irresolute, at his outset in Parliament, which side he should take, professed a reluctance to oppose Government as well as respect for Administration, and disclaimed all party feelings. But he insensibly threw aside these restraints. During the progress of the French commercial treaty Grey rose and resisted the measure with

[1] Charles Grey, son of General Sir Charles Grey (who was created Baron Grey de Howick in 1801 and Viscount Howick and Earl Grey in 1806). He was born 13th March 1764, and succeeded his father as second Earl Grey, 1807. First Lord of the Admiralty in 1806 and Secretary for Foreign Affairs on the death of Fox; First Lord of the Treasury 1830–34; died 17th July 1845.—ED.

great force, yet without any mixture of indecorous acrimony or violence. His enunciation was clear, sonorous, and distinct; his language correct, nervous, and flowing, free from affectation or study; his sentiments natural, and delivered with dignity as well as grace. With the single exception of Pitt, I have not witnessed any individual in my time who on his first attempt has excited such expectations of future eminence as did Grey. These expectations, it must be admitted, he has fully realised. He stood, indeed, considered as a member of the House, upon much higher ground than Pitt at his entrance into Parliament, representing, as he did, a great county, while the other, brought in by Sir James Lowther at the Duke of Rutland's request, sat during nearly three years for a borough. It was Pitt's name and filial connection with the illustrious Minister who humbled France and Spain that operated as a talisman in his favour. Grey, though endowed with eminent abilities and of most decorous manners, yet wanted Fox's open amenity of character. He was equally destitute of Sheridan's wit, good-humour, and invincible suavity of disposition. To the Chancellor of the Exchequer he bore much more analogy. Both were distant, grave, lofty, retired, and sometimes repulsive. I shall have frequent occasion to return to Grey in the course of these Memoirs.

Scarcely had the address to the crown on the commercial treaty with France been voted by a great majority, when the Minister introduced a bill for the consolidation of duties, which conciliated the approbation of all parties. The speech with which he opened and detailed its operation on the revenue as well as on the commerce of Great Britain, might challenge the annals of Parliament to produce a finer specimen of financial eloquence. Without re-

dundancy, it was copious, destitute of all extraneous matter, or of every unnecessary ornament, perspicuous even in those parts which, from the nature of the subject, it was difficult to render intelligible. If Sheridan's powers of oratory, directed to inflame the passions, to dazzle the imagination, and to mislead the judgment, while exerted in the cause of persecution, could call out such universal applause, how much more solid admiration was due to Pitt's efforts for retrieving and ameliorating the finances of a country which, only four years earlier, seemed to be plunged in almost remediless embarrassments! Already England began to reappear on the theatre of Europe not less powerful than before the American war. Notwithstanding the violent language which had recently occurred between Pitt and Burke, the latter, appeased by the coincidence and support of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the late charge against Hastings, rose to express his high approbation of the measure for consolidating the duties. "I will not," said Burke, "content myself with a sullen acquiescence, but will bear testimony to the masterly and perspicuous manner in which a plan has been developed that promises accommodation to the merchant combined with augmentation and advantage to the revenue." Sir Grey Cooper, after reclaiming for his absent friend Lord North the merit of having originated this salutary scheme during the time when he presided at the Treasury Board, joined in similar eulogiums, both on the proposition for simplifying the general receipt, and on the ability manifested in its disclosure. Even Fox recognised these merits, though more reluctantly and with some hesitation. Sheridan alone remained wholly silent.

During the progress of the commercial treaty through the House, Fox, while he earnestly de-

precated any departure from our ancient connection with Portugal, inveighed against the danger of confiding in the faith of France. At the same time he drew an alarming and exaggerated picture of her resources, power, and ambition. Even in the personal qualities of the reigning sovereign, and the exertions made by him to aggrandise his country, Fox apprehended cause for distrust and motives for alienation. If these opinions were not assumed for the purpose of impeding the measure then under discussion, Fox must have formed very erroneous conceptions of the state of the French monarchy, as well as of the prince who then filled the throne at the beginning of 1787. Far from being in a condition to meditate conquests or to undertake aggressions, the revolution which within six years brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold may be said to have already commenced. The deficiency in the revenues rendered necessary a recourse to extraordinary remedies. Louis, instead of preparing betimes for a conflict with his subjects (as Henry IV. himself would have done in a similar situation), adopted measures calculated to lay him at the mercy of the Parisian populace. With the most generous and benign intentions, but without judgment, and contrary to every maxim of prudence or of policy, he broke successively the household troops. These bands, composed almost exclusively of individuals nobly descended, being thus reduced, left the throne dependent for support on the army at large, the greater part of which body had imbibed in America republican principles, or was corrupted by the manners of a dissolute revolutionary capital. Such was the position and such were the embarrassments of the King when Calonne proposed to him to convoke a sort of epitome or substitute for the States-General, to be chosen from among the nobility, the

clergy, and the magistracy of the kingdom. They were denominated "Les Notables," and had not been summoned during 160 years, when Louis XIII. assembled them for a somewhat similar purpose, namely, to furnish supplies towards the necessities of the crown.

If, when Calonne advised the convocation of this aristocratic body, he could have remained master of their deliberations—in other words, if he had secured a good majority by means analogous to those which all Ministers have practised in this country — no doubt the "Notables" might have extricated the state while they laid the first foundations of a limited constitutional monarchy in France. Among the whole series of princes who have reigned since Hugh Capet, not one was so formed, by the yielding and inert moderation of his character, for conceding to his people a constitution, and for surrendering the odious, obsolete, or oppressive prerogatives of the throne, as Louis XVI. Or, if the privileged orders had possessed discernment enough to perceive that they must be overturned, unless by great sacrifices of every kind they sustained the sovereign and retained the lower orders in their allegiance, the monarchy, public credit, and general obedience, might all have been upheld. But the King was weak, irresolute, and vacillating, and incapable of any act of energy or decision; the "Notables" were destitute of a spark of wisdom, love of their country, or even enlarged principles of self-preservation, attached only with blind, unfeeling selfishness to their own separate interests as a distinct order of men. Lastly, the Comptroller-General was rash, sanguine, presumptuous, and inexperienced in the management of popular assemblies.

I have been much in Calonne's society during the

period of time which he passed here in England between 1787[1] and his decease in 1802. In his person he exceeded the common height, thin, active, and always in motion. His physiognomy was very expressive, gay, full of intelligence, never clouded, perpetually animated by hope and cheerfulness. The calamities of the House of Bourbon and of France were not to be traced in his features nor recognised in his conversation. Buoyant from natural disposition, fertile in expedients and resources, ever looking forward with confidence, he could not be subdued by adverse fortune. Nor was he deficient in the attainments, information, and knowledge of a financier. But he wanted the probity and stern severity of Sully, while he equally wanted the sound judgment, the application to business, the spirit of order, the enlightened economy, and the elevated principles of moral and political action, all which met in Colbert. In what manner the Duke of Dorset, our ambassador at the court of Versailles, thought of Calonne, as well as of the assembly, may be gathered from his language in a letter addressed to myself, dated "Paris, 4th January 1787." "L'assemblée des notables," says he, "is to be held at Versailles the 29th of this month. It is a curious piece of juggling of the Comptroller-General. However, I wish him success, as he is really a fine open-hearted fellow, and wishes to cultivate friendship and amity with England."

Previous to the meeting of this assembly, which was further postponed to the 22d of February, an event took place that equally embarrassed and en-

[1] Charles Alexandre de Calonne fled from France in 1787 and built himself a handsome house in Piccadilly opposite the Green Park. On the breaking out of the Revolution he went to Switzerland, and in 1795 his property was sold by auction.—ED.

feebled the councils of the French crown. I mean, the death of the Count de Vergennes. He was the most able and enterprising statesman whom France had seen since the dismission of the Duke de Choiseul by Louis XV. Though Vergennes specially directed the Foreign Department, yet he was likewise President of the Council of Finances; and the estimation in which he was held by his own sovereign, when combined with the high opinion entertained of his talents throughout Europe, conduced to give stability to the existing order of things. The extreme weakness of Louis's character remained in a great measure concealed, even from his own subjects, while Vergennes still survived, and his decease unquestionably contributed to accelerate the progress of those revolutionary principles which speedily overturned the monarchy. The Duke of Dorset always regarded him as an ambitious Minister, inimical to the general repose of Europe, but in particular hostile to England. Writing to me on the 9th of February 1786 from Paris on the state of public affairs, he adds, "Everything bears the appearance of tranquillity, but I believe the Cabinet at Versailles is working hard in every Cabinet in Europe, and particularly to gain that of Petersburg."—"The spirit of intrigue which Vergennes is endowed with is more dangerous in my opinion to the balance of power than all the mighty armies of Louis XIV.; and if we do not watch him close, we shall be in a most unpleasant situation." I am ready to admit, when citing the testimony of the Duke, that his own talents were moderate, but his situation and connections about the French court enabled him to know many important facts from high authority. It cannot be doubted that Vergennes had meditated a rupture with this country in 1786. The East Indies would have formed

the first scene of hostilities, and troops were actually sent to the island of Mauritius in order to attack us in conjunction with Tippoo on the coast of Coromandel. Sir John Macpherson, who was then temporary Governor-General of Bengal, and who attained full information on the subject, has often assured me that such were unquestionably the designs of the Cabinet of Versailles. Notwithstanding the pecuniary difficulties under which Louis XVI. laboured in 1787, I believe, if Vergennes had survived a few months longer, he would not have allowed the Prussian troops commanded by the Duke of Brunswick to enter Amsterdam without opposition and to extinguish the French faction throughout the seven United Provinces. The Count de Montmorin succeeded to Vergennes's office, but not to his high reputation.

About this time Louis XVI. sent over a new ambassador to London. The intellectual and physical infirmities of Count d'Adhemar combined to incapacitate him for longer filling that employment. He was replaced by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, brother to the Count of the same name, then one of the Secretaries of State and head of the Naval Department. The Chevalier was soon afterwards created a Marquis. I lived in habits of great intimacy with him from his first arrival in England nearly to the termination of his embassy. Nature had not bestowed on him any external advantages. Neither his person, manners, nor address, seemed to be adapted for a drawing-room; and his sight was so defective that it approached to blindness. Scarcely could he distinguish objects unless brought close to his eye. But he compensated for these corporeal defects by a sound, clear understanding and habits of business. Though he seldom attempted to speak English, he understood the lan-

guage, having resided a long time in America as Minister from France during the war carried on against the Transatlantic colonies. Such a mission did not seem to lay a good foundation for his favourable reception here, or to form a recommendation at St. James's. It is a fact that on the day when he went to the palace to be presented to the King, he wore at his button-hole the insignia of the order of Cincinnatus, which had been conferred on him by Washington. Fortunately, arriving before his Majesty came out of his closet to commence the levée, some of his friends had time to represent to the new ambassador the impropriety of appearing in the presence of George III. decorated with an order instituted by one of his former subjects. La Luzerne instantly took it off and put it in his pocket.

As he was unmarried, being a Knight of Malta, the Viscountess de la Luzerne, a daughter of the Count de Montmorin, who had married the ambassador's nephew, came over from France to do the honours of his house. After the King's first great intellectual malady in June 1789, La Luzerne gave a splendid entertainment in commemoration of his recovery. The Queen was present at it with her court, and during supper the Viscountess, as representing the French ambassadress, stood behind her Majesty's chair. Within five years afterwards I went to pay my respects to her at a small lodging situated in George Street, Portman Square, just behind the noble mansion which the ambassador had occupied in that Square. She received me in a room where stood two neat white beds, and appeared to support with great equanimity her change of fortune. But she did not long survive, and I have heard that she accelerated her own end, which I believe took place at Rouen. She was young,

amiable, and of most engaging manners. Her father, Count de Montmorin, perished early in the Revolution. Nor did the ambassador himself live to witness the execution of his unfortunate master. In 1792 he was attacked with a paralytic complaint, for which he repaired to Southampton, where he expired. The calamities of his country, together with his own individual misfortunes flowing from that source, embittered his latter days and hastened his dissolution. His remains being sent over to Caen in Normandy for the purpose of interment, the Revolutionary populace of the city precipitated his body into the river Orne, which flows through the place.

The bishopric of Lincoln becoming vacant at this time, Pitt procured it for Dr. Pretyman,[1] who had formerly been his preceptor and then filled the office of his private secretary. The Opposition, to whom Pretyman had rendered himself obnoxious in this latter capacity, attacked him with all the weapons of wit, satire, and malevolence. In allusion to his having been brought up at Pembroke Hall in the University of Cambridge, the "Rolliad" denominates him—

"Pembroke's pale pride, in Pitt's præcordia placed,"

and levels many coarse or illiberal jests on his person, which was tall, thin, and destitute of elegance. An ode depicturing him as a man destitute of all regard to veracity, and which began with the words—

"Hail to the liar!"

was likewise assigned to Pretyman by the authors of the "Probationary Odes." Not satisfied with this abuse, they overwhelmed him under a mass of

[1] He took the name of Tomline on account of a fortune having been left to him by a gentleman of that name. He was translated to Winchester in 1820.—ED.

classic epigrams, composed in English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian. His duplicity, as private secretary to Pitt, constituted the charge made against him throughout these lampoons, which only served to prove the ingenious hostility of their composers. In 1805, on the death of Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Pitt, who was then First Minister for the second time, made the strongest exertions to raise Pretyman to the metropolitan see. But his Majesty pertinaciously refused his consent. I know from a near relative of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, that when the Minister urged the matter warmly, George III. replied, "Mr. Pitt, don't press me further on the subject, for I am determined to confer it on Sutton, whom you brought under my eye when he was made Dean of Windsor at your recommendation; and it would be indecorous that we should be known to differ on this point."[1] As the best proof of his unalterable resolution to raise Dr. Manners Sutton to the vacant archiepiscopal see, the King authorised the distinguished individual who related to me the above-mentioned particulars —one of his oldest servants—to write to Mrs. Manners Sutton, Dr. Sutton's wife, assuring her in his Majesty's name of his fixed determination on the subject.[2]

The Archbishop of Canterbury is a grandson of John, third Duke of Rutland, whose youngest son, Lord George Manners, assumed the name of Sutton on succeeding to the estate of Lord Lexington. Being the fourth son of Lord George, he was

[1] It is reported that George III. said, "No, no; we must have a gentleman." If so, he must have meant merely a man of good birth, because Pretyman appears to have been a dignified gentleman. He was senior wrangler and first Smith's prizeman.—ED.

[2] "We can state on the best authority that no such letter was ever written to Mrs. Manners Sutton."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. lvii. p. 468.—ED.

brought up to the ecclesiastical profession, and at the age of three-and-twenty became attached to Miss Thoroton. She stood in no remote degree of consanguinity to him, as her mother, who was an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Rutland, had married Mr. Thoroton, secretary to the celebrated Marquis of Granby. The lovers were in fact second cousins. Being together at Belvoir Castle in the year 1778, when she was only about eighteen years of age, he proposed to her an elopement to Gretna Green. She consented, and they set off on foot, but before they could reach the hired post-chaise, stationed at four miles' distance, the young lady lost both her shoes in the dirty road. After their marriage at Gretna, not possessing pecuniary means sufficient to enable them to return, they wrote to their respective relations, requesting assistance for the purpose. Lord George Sutton displayed, under these circumstances, much less displeasure towards his son than was exhibited by Mrs. Drake, the Duke of Rutland's mistress and grandmother to the bride. It was not without difficulty that Mrs. Drake consented to allow her granddaughter the sum of £40 a year. Lord George, encumbered with a very numerous family, and having contracted a second marriage not calculated to benefit his affairs, was unable to make his son a larger annual allowance. But he procured for Mr. Sutton a curacy at Canwick of nearly the same value, to which place the newly married couple repaired. There they remained during some years, subsisting on about £120 per annum, though they soon had several children. It is a fact that the Archbishop still preserves the pair of brass candlesticks which, when curate of Canwick, he constantly had in use. His own son, Lieutenant-Colonel Sutton, so assured me.

John, Duke of Rutland, as well as his son, the

Marquis of Granby, having both survived their wives, and having each several natural children, the illegitimate issue of the father and of the son used to sit down promiscuously together at table at Belvoir Castle, where they were brought up with the Duke's legitimate descendants. Colonel John Sutton, elder brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who now possesses the Lexington estate of Kelham near Newark-upon-Trent, married in like manner his cousin, a natural daughter of the Marquis of Granby. On many occasions the Duke even displayed a preference for his grandchildren by Mrs. Drake above his legitimate offspring. The valuable living of Bottesworth, in the county of Leicester, not far from Belvoir (in the church of which village the Dukes of Rutland are interred), becoming vacant, Lord George Sutton made the warmest application to the Duke in favour of his son Charles, who still remained at his curacy of Canwick. But he met with a refusal, the Duke conferring it on his illegitimate grandson, Mr. Thoroton, Mrs. Manners Sutton's brother, rather than on her husband. Lord George was, however, enabled soon afterwards to present his son with the living of Averham near Kelham, to which he removed, and where he remained till he received the Deanery of Peterborough. Mr. Pitt, whose obligations to Charles, late Duke of Rutland, were great, and who testified throughout his whole political life a natural predilection for the Manners family, procured the Dean's promotion to the bishopric of Norwich on the decease of Dr. Horne. Finally, the same Ministerial patronage made him Dean of Windsor, thus placing him under the King's eye, though Pitt did not the less endeavour to elevate his own tutor to the metropolitan dignity, as the Emperor Charles V. had formerly raised his preceptor to the papal throne.

The present Archbishop is a prelate of very moderate intellectual endowments, as were likewise his two immediate predecessors, Moore and Cornwallis. But he possesses great command over himself, irreproachable moral conduct, activity in promoting works of charity or benevolence, and all the essential qualities for filling with decent propriety the archiepiscopal chair to which Pitt's protection, finally aided by royal favour, have elevated him. Nor must his high birth be forgotten, which formed a strong additional recommendation to the King's notice. He is not an economist, though he has seven daughters still unmarried, and whenever the see becomes vacant, no treasures will probably be discovered in his coffers.[1] Fond of field-sports and a good shot, he nevertheless abstains from touching a gun. During a visit that he made to Kelham three or four years ago, he was much pressed to take a fowling-piece, but conscious of its indecorum he declined it, contenting himself to accompany the sportsmen and to mark down the birds. Possibly it might likewise occur to the Archbishop that one of his predecessors in the See of Canterbury, Abbot, about two hundred years ago, being engaged in the chase, had the misfortune to kill his gamekeeper with a cross-bow. And an accident similar to that which took place under James I. might again happen under George III. On the whole, he must be esteemed a most fortunate individual, since, in addition to the prodigious ecclesiastical elevation which he has attained, he has beheld his eldest son elected Speaker of the House of Commons,[2] while

[1] He died in 1828, leaving a fortune of £180,000 in personal property alone, and his last act was an endeavour to secure to his family the valuable nomination to the registry of the Prerogative Court. His appointment to the archiepiscopal see enabled him to relieve himself from heavy pecuniary embarrassments.—D.

[2] Charles Manners Sutton, G.C.B., born January 29, 1780; Speaker

his own younger brother has by Pitt's selection, rather than by any eminent legal talents, been made Chancellor of Ireland and created a peer of Great Britain.[1] It was not before the nineteenth century that the name of Manners, previously distinguished in the field and on the ocean, has become known in the church, at the bar, and in the senate.

[*2d March* 1787.] Early in March, Hastings's prosecution was renewed, Mr. Pelham opening the next charge, which consisted of three distinct accusations, namely, infraction of treaty, personal corruption, and abuse of power to purposes of tyranny. The scene of these imputed offences lay at Furruckabad, a city not far removed from Agra in the north of Hindostan, the Nabob of which territory was the individual on whom the Governor-General had exercised the acts of violence in question. Mr. Pelham (a name connected with some of the best Ministerial recollections of George II.'s reign) was the eldest son of Lord Pelham, subsequently created Earl of Chichester.[2] He filled, indeed, himself, early in the present century, very respectably, under Addington's Administration during a considerable time, the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department. Endowed with moderate abilities, but sustained by great family connections, his mind cultivated by travel and his understanding matured by an early entrance into Parliament, Mr. Pelham could not, however, rely, like Sheridan, on

of the House of Commons from 1817–1834; raised to the peerage March 10, 1835, as Viscount Canterbury. He died July 21, 1845. —ED.

[1] Right Honourable Thomas Manners Sutton, born February 24, 1756; Solicitor-General in 1805; one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1807, when he was created Baron Manners of Foxton. He died May 31, 1842.—ED.

[2] Thomas Pelham, born April 28, 1756. In 1801 he was summoned to the House of Peers in his father's barony. Succeeded his father as second Earl of Chichester in 1805. He died July 4, 1826.—ED.

appeals to the imagination or the passions in order to produce conviction. His speech, though long, and abounding in minute details, many of which were not of a nature deeply to interest his audience, yet excited attention. Major Scott rose to defend Hastings, and in reply to the imputation of his having corruptly accepted from the Nabob of Oude a present of ten lac of rupees, on which act Mr. Pelham had animadverted with great severity, Scott observed, "The Governor-General immediately communicated the fact to the Court of Directors. He had not even received the money at the time when he transmitted to them the information. As soon as it was actually paid, he transferred it to the Company's treasury, accompanying the payment with a request that, as his own fortune was small, they would give it him back on some future day. Probably he did not conceive that, as Lord Clive had received £600,000 for acquiring an empire, he should be deemed presumptuous in asking for £100,000 as a remuneration for preserving that empire."

Hastings did not, however, want other defenders, some of whom were even seated near the Minister on the Treasury bench. Though Mr. William Grenville remained silent, Lord Mulgrave denied that the House of Commons could be fit judges of a Governor-General's administration, who, placed at an immense distance from England, surrounded with dangers and enemies, had acted on the whole in a manner so glorious, as well as salutary, for his country. But Lord Hood's appearance on the floor as an advocate of similar principles produced a still deeper impression. This veteran commander,[1] who

[1] Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, K.B., Bart., born in 1724, created Baron Hood in the peerage of Ireland in 1782. Some years after this debate he was again employed in active service. He commanded the Mediterranean fleet in 1793, and signalised himself by his victo-

had maintained the lustre of the British flag throughout all the humiliating period of Lord North's Administration, unaccustomed to speak in Parliament, and strongly attached to Pitt, yet presented himself to the Speaker's notice. Inured from the commencement of his life to that stormy element on which he had earned his reputation and his honours, he might say—

> "Rude am I in speech,
> And little blest with the set phrase of peace;"

but every word that he uttered was devoured by the audience. Placing the subject of the pending prosecution at once on the ground of public expediency, he besought the House to reflect on the consequences that must result to the State if, with too scrupulous accuracy, they called to a severe account those individuals who had filled important stations abroad in a period of hostility. With great simplicity of diction he stated the difficulties to which he had been himself subjected, and the acts of unauthorised violence or oppression to which he had been necessitated to recur for the purpose of subsisting the English fleet when under his command in the West Indies during the American war. "Acts which, however indispensable to the preservation of his ships and men," he added, "yet if the Government had not stood between him and legal prosecutions, he should in all probability have been doomed to linger out the remainder of his days in prison."—"As for myself," concluded he, "at my period of life, I can entertain no expectation of being again employed on active foreign service; but I speak for those who come after me. Love of my country impels me to prevent a precedent which

rious attack on Toulon and his capture of the island of Corsica. He was made Governor of Chelsea Hospital in 1796 and created Viscount Hood in the peerage of Great Britain. He died 27th January 1816. —ED.

will impede all future exertions if we punish the acts of authority, however repugnant they may be to our modes of conducting ourselves, which the saviour of India has committed in order to extricate and preserve the countries intrusted to his care."

If this forcible appeal to the common sense and justice of the House had been made on the 13th of June 1786, when the charge relative to Cheyt Sing was brought forward, instead of the 2d of March 1787, it might have given a new aspect to the whole prosecution. Other individuals of weight, encouraged by such an example, would probably have come forward on the same trace. Pitt and Dundas, whatever part they might have secretly resolved to take relative to Hastings, had not committed themselves beyond the power of recall at that period. Or if the Governor-General, better advised, had maturely considered the ability, numbers, and inveteracy of his accusers, as well as the very doubtful nature of the Ministerial support which he credulously anticipated as certain; and if, instead of injudiciously imposing on himself the difficult task of justifying every separate act of power to which he had recourse during his stay in India, he had put his defence on the general issue of his critical position, which emancipated him from ordinary rules of action; finally, if he had pleaded his distinguished and successful services to the state, as forming a shield which ought to protect him against party rage or parliamentary violence, it seems difficult to suppose that such intrenchments could have been stormed. Pitt himself recognised their strength in his reply to Lord Hood. After bearing the most ample testimony, not only to his noble friend's private virtues, but to his high professional ability, the Minister laboured with no ordinary eloquence to demonstrate that there did not exist the slightest

analogy between Lord Hood's violations of right or seizure of property and the crimes laid to the charge of the late Governor-General. The former, he said, were dictated by an imperious necessity; for the latter no such defence had been attempted. Having reasoned this point more as a moralist or a casuist than as a statesman, rather in the spirit of Addison or of Johnson than as Lord Burleigh or as his own father, when at the head of the councils of this country, was accustomed to contemplate political objects, Pitt then reverted to Hastings's general merits in the course of his high public employment.

"There was, I admit," said he, "a period when such a defence might have been set up, but that time is past. If, at the commencement of the present inquiry, it had been urged, that whatever faults the late Governor-General might have committed, his brilliant and meritorious services effaced or counterbalanced them, the House would have had to weigh his crimes against his virtues. But at present we cannot allow any such consideration to operate on our minds. We are deciding not on general merits or demerits. It is on the criminality or the innocence of a particular transaction that we are called to determine. Mr. Hastings has disclaimed all benefit arising from the consideration of his services. He has declared that he desires no set-off on that score, being persuaded that the very facts on which are founded the charges, when they come to be investigated, will be found entitled to the approbation of this House. After such a voluntary act on his part, ought we to extend a shield between him and inquiry? Still less can we now do it, having proceeded so far in the examination." It is evident that Hastings's imprudence facilitated the means of attacking him with success. If he had followed Lord Clive's example, who, besides being

himself in Parliament, brought in as his agent, not a military officer, but an able member of the long robe, he might, like Lord Clive, have escaped impeachment. Pitt virtually and distinctly acknowledged it. But ought not a wise statesman to have warned of his danger a meritorious public servant who had saved India? Should he not have informed the Governor-General on what grounds only he could extend Ministerial protection and support? Pitt, on the contrary, allowed him to enter the snare. Posterity will decide on the wisdom, the policy, and the generosity of such a proceeding. Only fifty members, of whom I was one, negatived Mr. Pelham's motion. One hundred and twelve supported it. Dundas spoke and voted with Pitt on that evening, but neither Fox nor Sheridan took any part in the discussion.

[*28th February—6th March* 1787.] The commercial treaty with France, which had occasioned such difference of opinion in the Lower House, gave rise among the peers to debates, if possible, still more personal and acrimonious. Not the least singular circumstance attending them was that the same individuals who lately opposed each other in one assembly, being transferred to the other, furnished the principal materials of controversy. Pitt, well aware that neither the Marquis of Carmarthen nor Lord Sydney was competent to explain and defend the treaty, took care to intrust that task to more able hands. Jenkinson, become Lord Hawksbury, was selected for the purpose. He performed it with consummate ability, answering the arguments adduced by Lord Stormont, and by Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, both of whom deprecated a departure from the ancient treaties subsisting with Portugal, in order, as they asserted, to form dangerous connections with France. At the same time, not being

in the Cabinet, nor holding any ostensible place in Administration, Lord Hawksbury took care to state repeatedly that he was no Minister. "I desire once for all, my Lords," said he, "that it may not be supposed I either possess or claim any authority except the influence which my arguments give me." But the Duke of Norfolk, now become an efficient member of the House, after commenting on Lord Hawksbury's declaration, added, "I am aware that the noble Lord who has undertaken to support the treaty and to justify Ministers has on his shoulders the principal burthen of government. He is a peer of great weight and authority. Nevertheless, as he has informed us that he is no Minister, he cannot incur any responsibility. It is therefore the duty of Ministers either to speak in their own persons or to place the noble Lord in a Ministerial situation, so that he may be rendered responsible for his assertions respecting measures of Administration." Then, after alluding to the reform in the representation of the people which Pitt had held out to the country previous as well as subsequent to his entrance on office, the Duke added, "No such reform has, however, been effected in the other House. And as to this assembly, some individuals have lately been sent here, whom, if all circumstances are considered, the people, I believe, little expected to see elevated to such rank."

The severity of these animadversions called up successively the two Secretaries of State, which drew from Lord Carlisle the remark that "he was happy to find the death-like silence of Ministers at length broken." But the concluding observation, so personally levelled at the peers who had recently been created, would have remained without reply if Lord Delaval,[1] who was one of

[1] This peerage became extinct in 1808.—D.

them, had not demanded some explanation on the subject. Having alluded to the reflections thrown upon the distinguished persons whom his Majesty's favour had entitled to seats in that House, "Does the noble Duke," continued he, "think that there was any circumstance in the characters of their ancestors which ought to disqualify their present descendants from being advanced to the dignity of the British peerage? Does he mean to insinuate that their ancestors had been stigmatised as men of suspicious allegiance? or does the noble Duke mean to infer that 'there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons'?" The wit of this last sarcasm, which made so obvious an allusion to the Duke's recantation of the errors of the Romish Church, induced the Duke of Manchester to speak to order. But Lord Delaval, after apologising for any unintentional violation which he might have committed of the forms or on the decorum of the House, added, "As the noble Duke has thought proper to animadvert on the lately created peers, being myself one of them, and utterly unconscious as I am of meriting any such observations, I imagine he will expect that something should be said in their behalf by one at least of their number." The Duke of Norfolk, who throughout his whole life manifested greater promptitude to give offence than to resent affronts, finding likewise that he had only attracted towards himself reflections more severe than those which he desired to throw on others, now apologised to Lord Delaval, and the business terminated.

I was particularly acquainted with that nobleman before as well as after his elevation to the British peerage. He was a younger brother of Sir Francis Blake Delaval, a man celebrated in the annals of

wit and gallantry towards the end of George II.'s reign. At seventy years of age, Lord Delaval's person remained graceful and slender, his manners elegant, gay, and pleasing. Descended from a very ancient and distinguished family seated in the county of Northumberland, where he possessed great landed property, he was created a baronet soon after the present King's accession. During his whole life pleasure constituted the first object of his pursuit. Representing, as he did, the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed in more than one Parliament, and supporting the Coalition Administration at their outset, he was included by Fox among the Irish peers of the month of September 1783, whom his Majesty consented to raise to that dignity, though he refused to make any addition to the British peerage. Of course Lord Delaval voted for the East India Bill when brought into the House of Commons, but afterwards, finding that it was equally odious at St. James's and reprobated throughout the country, he retracted his support and joined the new Minister. He even rose in his place and justified his conduct in a manly manner. For such an act of apostasy, as it was denominated by his old allies, they assigned him a conspicuous niche in the "Rolliad." It is probable that the Duke of Norfolk alluded in his speech to the lines commemorating Lord Delaval's double creation. They were severe.

> "The noble convert, Berwick's honoured choice,
> That faithful echo of the people's voice,
> One day, to gain an Irish title glad,
> For Fox he voted;—so the people bade.
> 'Mongst English lords ambitious grown to sit,
> Next day the people bade him vote for Pitt.
> To join the stream, our patriot, nothing loath,
> By turns discreetly gave his voice to both."

Not satisfied with this revenge, the same wits com-

posed a poem called "The Delavaliad," parodied from Orlando's verses to Rosalind in "As You Like It." But Lord Delaval stood in no awe of such lampoons. He attained to a very advanced age, and dying without a son, his titles (both of which had been acquired within the space of three years from two rival Ministers) expired with him. I shall have occasion to mention his youngest daughter, the Countess of Tyrconnel, in the sequel of these Memoirs.

[*1st—10th March* 1787.] On the following day the discussion of the "Commercial Treaty" was renewed in the House of Peers, Lord Sydney and the Marquis of Carmarthen observing total silence, while the Marquis of Buckingham and Lord Hawksbury undertook the defence of the measure. So little parliamentary assistance did Pitt derive from his colleagues in office! The Bishop of Llandaff, a prelate of aspiring talents, and his own historian, who looked forward to Durham or to Winchester as the recompense of his exertions, attacked with no ordinary ability the proposed treaty. He was supported by Lord Stormont, who inveighed against it as a sacrifice of solid power for uncertain profit. But the circumstance which gave peculiar interest to the debate of that evening was the part taken by the Marquis of Lansdowne. In the course of a speech such as only a statesman could have conceived or pronounced, he passed the whole treaty in review, examined its features, pointed out its merits and its defects, approved its principle, but did not the less condemn many of its practical details. Treating with contempt the narrow prejudice by which France is considered as the natural enemy of this country, he equally reprobated the folly of denominating her perfidious and deceitful as a nation. With the hand of a master, he drew a

species of contrast between Louis XIV., a prince animated only by insatiable ambition, and his estimable successor who then filled the throne, in whose bosom the love of his people and of justice always predominated. "The natural enemy of Great Britain, my Lords," continued he, "and equally of every other state, is the sovereign of Prussia, who maintains an immense military force, altogether disproportionate to his revenues and to his dominions."

Having thus recognised the abstract wisdom and policy of the measure, he next, with equal force of language and strength of reason, delineated the errors committed in its execution. Among these he did not omit to enumerate the silence and acquiescence of Ministers while France was occupied in constructing the stupendous works at Cherbourg. Nor did he less strongly arraign other features of the treaty which regarded Ireland and the East Indies, leaving his audience at the close unable to decide whether he had most censured or applauded the Administration, and subjecting himself to the imputation of having "spoken on both sides of the question." From this charge he nevertheless justified himself with ingenuity during one of the subsequent debates. "I am accused," said Lord Lansdowne, "of speaking on both sides, because I have not, from motives of friendship towards Ministers, forborne to state my objections to many parts of the measure under discussion, and because I have not, in complaisance to the Opposition, withheld my tribute of applause to the principle. The fact is, that throughout life I have stood aloof from parties. It constitutes my pride and my principle to belong to no faction, but to approve every measure on its own ground, free from all connection. Such is my political creed." His repartee to the Earl of Car-

lisle, who thought proper to reproach him with having apparently drawn many of the amicable sentiments that he professed towards France "from the novels of a circulating library or from sentimental comedies," turned the laugh on his side. That nobleman had himself composed some poetic and dramatic works, which it was thought would not secure him immortality. "With regard," observed the Marquis, "to the expressions applied to the French nation and Government, which I am supposed to have selected from sentimental novels or sentimental comedies, I can assure the noble Earl I never write either, but I entertain a profound respect for those who do."

[16*th March* 1787.] Burke, while conducting the prosecution against Hastings, enjoyed the singular advantage of being surrounded by a constellation of extraordinary men, whose talents were devoted to his purposes, passions, and prejudices. He had only to select his instrument, while he superintended the execution. For bringing forward the present charge he chose Sir James Erskine, a young Scotch baronet, who in addition to considerable talents, stood in a close degree of consanguinity to Lord Loughborough, his mother being the only sister of that nobleman. Among the individuals whose great legal and parliamentary ability raised them to the British peerage under the reign of George III., none possessed more versatile faculties than Wedderburn, or more adapted to the atmosphere of a court. Though placed by the Coalition Administration in 1783 at the head of the Commissioners to whom the Great Seal was confided, and though he remained during ten years steadily attached to Lord North and Fox, yet he never rendered himself personally obnoxious either to the King or to Pitt. Early in 1793, when Lord Thurlow came to a

decided rupture with that Minister, Lord Loughborough succeeded to the dignity of Chancellor. Being childless, having passed his sixtieth year, and entertaining no hope of issue—for he had been twice married—he adopted the sons of his sister, and before he had held the Great Seal three years, he succeeded in procuring a new patent, entailing the barony of Loughborough on his two nephews in succession. Of these, Sir James Erskine was the eldest. Nor did his ambition rest satisfied with such an acquisition. Early in the present century his patient assiduities, constant attendance on the King and Queen, whom he commonly followed every autumn to Weymouth, and the devotion which he manifested towards them, these courtly qualities were rewarded with an earldom, reverting, as in the former instance, to Sir James Erskine and his younger brother. Such marks of royal and Ministerial favour, very rarely bestowed on any subject, prove how much superior was Wedderburn to Thurlow in the arts of ingratiation, whatever parity there might exist between them in their professional or parliamentary talents. Thurlow, who four times held the Great Seal under as many different Administrations, only obtained a barony for his paternal nephew, while Wedderburn made his sister's son an Earl by the title of Rosslyn.

Sir James Erskine developed with considerable ability the charge confided to him, which principally regarded improvident or corrupt contracts made by Hastings. Those for providing bullocks, elephants, opium, and many other articles furnished by individuals whom the Governor-General favoured or patronised, constituted the subjects of crimination. Among these censurable acts of expenditure stood conspicuous the augmentation of Sir Eyre Coote's salary as Commander-in-Chief, from £16,000 a year

to more than double that sum, which proposition was carried by Hastings in Council. It formed nevertheless a singular fact that not even his accusers attributed to him the smallest participation in the profits of any transaction enumerated, though it appeared that a relation of Mr. Francis named Tilghman, who returned from Bengal in the same ship with him to Europe, shared in the advantages of the opium contract, one of those which produced the largest sum of money to the contractor. Francis, who did not attempt to contest the truth of the allegation, contented himself with challenging Major Scott to bring forward a specific charge on the subject. Pitt displayed on that night an extent of intellect, memory, and powers of mind so wonderful, while discussing the subject, that it might have been supposed he had passed his whole life in active employment on the banks of the Ganges.

With the exception of Burke, of Francis, and of Major Scott, I doubt if any individual present, including even Dundas, possessed so accurate a knowledge of the countries and concerns under examination. It might well excite astonishment how a man placed in his public situation could find time to acquire or to retain such a mass of information, on every point of which he reasoned with transcendent capacity, omitting not the minutest circumstance. The present Marquis of Cholmondeley,[1] who never felt any predilection for Pitt, and who, I believe, never once voted with him in the course of both their lives, yet did justice to his amazing talents. Conversing with him on the subject of that Minister about five years ago, Lord Cholmondeley said, "Pitt once sent to me requesting my attendance on urgent business. Sir John

[1] George James, fourth Earl of Cholmondeley, created Marquis of Cholmondeley in 1815. He died 10th April 1827.—ED.

Anstruther brought me the message. I was then at the head of the Prince of Wales's family, and I accordingly waited on him in Downing Street. The affair regarded a matter of accounts. I find it impossible to do justice to the perspicuity and rapidity of his calculations. In the course of a few minutes he went through and settled every item, leaving me lost in admiration at his ability." This was the testimony of an opponent and an enemy.

Having followed Sir James Erskine article by article through all the branches of the charge, some of which he treated as undeserving of investigation or destitute of foundation, Pitt finally proposed an amendment, offering to concur with the motion inculpating Hastings, but only on three distinct points of accusation, namely, the two contracts, one for bullocks, the other for opium, and the increased salary given to Sir Eyre Coote. At the same time he suggested to Burke the propriety of his speedily coming to a determination respecting the charges which he intended still to bring forward, with a view to obtaining the ends of substantial justice. Burke, while he treated the Minister's last proposition as founded in amity, refused to concur in his amendment. Only two persons rose to speak in Hastings's exculpation, one of whom was Major Scott. He admitted that some of the contracts were matters of favour, particularly the contract for providing opium. But he observed that if the profits of them all were as exorbitant in fact as it had been attempted to prove, they would not collectively amount to more than one moiety of the gain arising to the contractors from the loan of a single year negotiated in London during the late unfortunate war. Yet Burke, who had menaced Lord North with impeachment for his corrupt loans, was now closely united with him, while Hastings, who saved India,

lay under prosecution. The other individual who refused to concur in criminating the Governor-General was Dempster. He remarked that "no man, however inimical he might be, had insinuated that one rupee of the various sums enumerated ever found its way into Mr. Hastings's pocket." These considerations produced no effect on the division. Burke having moved to include in the charge two other contracts besides the three heads of accusation in which Pitt offered to concur, carried the question by nine votes against the Minister. Only twenty-six members, of which small number I was one, negatived Sir James Erskine's motion, declaring that "the charge contained matter for impeaching Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours." The majority did not exceed sixty.

[*22d March* 1787.] Notwithstanding Pitt's entire or partial concurrence in so many of the charges, he displayed precisely at this time a generous indignation when Francis attempted to render the committee appointed to draw up the articles a vehicle for his purposes of calumnious malevolence. An individual named Mercer having been called before that committee, with a view to prove from his deposition Hastings's culpability in the contract for opium, Francis, to whom Mercer had addressed a letter full of the grossest reflections on the late Governor-General, so managed the examination as to have it entered at full length on their minutes. By this unworthy artifice he contrived to render the House of Commons his accomplices in recording a libel. Pitt, holding the letter in his hand as it appeared in the printed minutes, commented on the whole proceeding with great severity. Francis attempted to justify himself by maintaining that if he had only produced an extract from Mercer's

letter, he might have been charged with suppression of evidence. Burke defended his conduct, and Sheridan accused the Minister with giving way to unbecoming warmth. But Pitt contended that the document had evidently been written at Francis's suggestion, adding that "no degree of indignation could be too strong where the House itself had been made instrumental to an act of such palpable malice and injustice."

Under an imputation so severe, Francis, though possessing a high spirit, took no step to prove his innocence. Yet, with men actuated by such motives as Pitt imputed to them, did he nevertheless join in impeaching a great functionary, to whom the preservation of our dominions in India was as much due as Gibraltar was saved by Elliot or Jamaica by Rodney. Of all Hastings's enemies, Francis might be justly esteemed the most inveterate and implacable. He was likewise the most formidable, not only from his accurate local knowledge obtained while on the spot, but by the composition of his mind. Unlike Burke, Francis's hatred, cool, sagacious, and controlled by his judgment, enabled him to direct his weapon with malignant skill. Burke's rancour exhausted itself in a torrent of invective, always decorated with classic allusions, frequently illuminated by wit and humour. Francis, like "Junius," tore his victim with deliberate, scientific ability, was rarely carried away by passion, preserved his enmity ever fresh, laboured with unceasing perseverance, and made his hostility felt by deeds still more than by words. Such was the different formation of the two men.

To Sir James Erskine, after the interval of a few days (like Homer's heroes supplying each other's place), succeeded Mr. Windham, who opened the sixth charge against Hastings, for "violations or

infractions of the treaty concluded by him with Fyzoola Khan, Nabob of Rohilcund." He performed the task with that logical perspicuity characteristic of his frame of mind, as well as of his style of eloquence, which always borrowed aid from metaphysical sources. Major Scott not only denied the existence of the pretended grievances, which he endeavoured to disprove by a calm recital of the circumstances attending the whole transaction, but he maintained that Fyzoola Khan was one of the most independent and happy native princes of Hindostan, having never received an injury of any kind from the British Government. "In fact," added he, "have the Princesses of Oude complained? Has Fyzoola Khan sent home a complaint? The late Governor-General left Bengal above two years ago. More than ten weeks before the last packet dispatched from Calcutta to England quitted the Ganges intelligence had been there received of the charges brought forward against him in this assembly. There existed no impediment to the transmission of complaints. I have recently seen or received many letters from India, and not a single word is to be found accusing or inculpating Mr. Hastings. So much the reverse is the fact, that temples have even been erected to him at Benares."

Burke, who felt it necessary to answer Scott, did not fail to attack him with the arms of ridicule, pointed by taste and learning. "I know not," exclaimed he, "whether the assertion relative to the temples constructed in honour of Mr. Hastings merits belief. But I know that there are temples dedicated throughout India to two very dissimilar divinities to Brahma and to Vishnu, the protecting deities, from whom benefits are supposed to descend, and to the evil principle or power, whose enmity and

malignity are deprecated. Perhaps the temple in question may be one of gratitude to the presiding divinities of Hindostan for having removed a monster under whose tyranny the unfortunate natives suffered so many evils. 'O, templa quam dilecta!'" Such were the weapons with which his enemies overwhelmed the man who had preserved India against a combination of European and Asiatic foes. Dundas, though he differed on some essential points from Burke and Windham, yet concurred in opinion with them that the charge contained criminal matter, while Pitt scarcely took part in the debate. Not a word was uttered except by Scott in Hastings's defence, and on the division only thirty-seven voices acquitted him. Ninety-six supported the motion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then rising, proposed that a day should be named for bringing up the report on those charges to which the House had agreed, and for discussing the question of impeachment. After a short conversation, the 2d day of April was finally fixed on for the purpose.

[*27th March* 1787.] Mr. Hamilton,[1] who had already taken so active a part in Hastings's favour, being of opinion that the time named for the agitation of this great subject was not sufficiently distant, endeavoured to interpose some delay. Equally regardless of the effect which his speech might produce upon Pitt or upon Burke, though connected by the closest ties of friendship with the former, in that imperious and dictatorial tone natural to him,[2] he expressed his astonishment at the indecent precipitation which characterised their deliberations. Then alluding to a proposition thrown out some weeks earlier for taking measures to secure Hast-

[1] Afterwards Marquis of Abercorn.—ED.
[2] He was known as "Blue Beard."—ED.

ings's person and property as soon as the impeachment should be voted, "I speak at present," added he, "in terms of restrained indignation respecting it. If I had given way to my emotions on its first mention in this assembly, I could not have answered for my expressions. I will now only say, that I believe there are very few persons existing who do not wish Mr. Hastings fully to participate in the benefits and blessings of nature with all the rest of mankind." Professing at the same time a readiness to modify his motion in any manner which might appear to meet the general sentiment of the House, he contented himself with a protest against following up the report by bringing forward the question of impeachment on one and the same evening. He was seconded by Mr. Yorke, then member for the county of Cambridge, now Earl of Hardwicke,[1] a nobleman with whom I was much acquainted in early and middle life, on the Continent as well as in England. His father, Charles Yorke, who, overcome by the importunities of the present King, accepted the great seal, was second son of the celebrated Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. It is of Charles Yorke that "Junius" speaks when, writing to the Duke of Grafton on the 14th of February 1770, he says, "To what an abject condition have you laboured to reduce the best of princes, when the unhappy man who yields at last to such personal instance and solicitation as never can be fairly employed against a subject, feels himself degraded by his compliance, and is unable to survive the disgraceful honours which his gracious sovereign had compelled him to accept. He was a man of spirit, for he had a quick sense of shame, and death has redeemed his character."

[1] Philip Yorke, son of Sir Charles Yorke, succeeded his uncle as third Earl of Hardwicke in 1796; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from 1801 to 1806. He died November 18, 1834.—ED.

The transaction to which "Junius" here refers is one of the most tragical which has taken place in our time. Mr. Yorke closed his existence in a manner strongly resembling the last scene of the lamented Sir Samuel Romilly. On his table lay the patent of his peerage (Baron Morden), and near it the great seal, which, when affixed, would have added the only formality necessary to its legal completion. But as not a trace of any such impression could be discovered on the wax, and it appearing therefore certain that the Chancellor had not chosen to accept the recompense of his political desertion, the title never received effect. This catastrophe took place on the 20th of January 1770, three days subsequent to his audience of the King. While contemplating the fate of Mr. Yorke, overwhelmed under the legal dignity and the peerage which constituted the supreme object of his ambition, we are reminded of Juvenal's

> "Qui nimios optabat honores,
> Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
> Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset
> Casus, et impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ!"

The present Earl of Hardwicke, though he does not inherit the abilities of his father or grandfather, nor perhaps equal in talents either of his uncles, the second Lord Hardwicke and Lord Dover, yet possesses a solid and cultivated understanding, adorned by manners simple, unassuming, and conciliating, united to an irreproachable moral character. Sprung from a family ennobled by the law, like the Marquis Camden, they both governed Ireland in difficult times, and have both attained to the distinction of the garter, an honour which has been rarely conferred, except on the nobility of ancient descent, during the course of George III.'s reign. After losing his father in the manner related, he has had

the misfortune likewise to survive his son, Lord Royston, who at the age of twenty-four was swallowed up in the waves of the Baltic off the port of Memel in 1808. I return to the debate respecting Hastings's impeachment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose as soon as Mr. Yorke concluded, and though he manifested the utmost personal deference towards his friend Hamilton, yet he did not less strenuously condemn the proposition of delay. Burke, thus supported by the Minister, directed all the severity of his remarks against Hastings. "Let the House," exclaimed he, "recollect what species of criminal we have under our consideration. Let those who accuse us of precipitation remember how many years we have been occupied with inquiries into Mr. Hastings's conduct. And has he not himself in that extraordinary performance read by him at our bar, and which he denominated his defence, demanded dispatch, while he deprecated every instant of delay? The criminal charges in which this House has already concurred are not simply high crimes and misdemeanours in the ordinary sense of the words; they are acts at the bare mention of which our nature recoils with horror." Burke concluded by protesting that longer forbearance in rendering the person and property of the accused individual amenable to public justice would be on their parts an act of criminal neglect. Hamilton, now finding himself abandoned by his friends and opposed by Hastings's prosecutors, requested permission to withdraw his motion, only adding that he was persuaded when the report came before them they would themselves become sensible of the impropriety of determining the question of impeachment upon the same evening.

[*28th March* 1787.] This conversation (as it might be more properly termed than debate) was

followed on the subsequent day by a discussion of a very different nature. Beaufoy[1] undertook to move the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, two of the strongest protecting barriers erected by our ancestors against innovation, either in the Church or in the Government. His speech comprehended every argument which ingenuity or reason could suggest, clothed in language of no ordinary elegance and energy, tempered throughout by judgment as well as by moderation, and delivered with his characteristic oratorical cadence. From English history, from morals, from philosophy, no less than from sound policy and from religion, he drew, or attempted to draw, his inferences in favour of the proposition. I have indeed witnessed few more luminous displays of intellect in Parliament, and I speak with perfect impartiality, neither having voted with him on the occasion nor being personally known to him except by a very slight acquaintance. As a striking illustration of the hardships imposed by the Test Act, Beaufoy cited the case of the celebrated and benevolent Mr. Howard, whom, he said, the proudest nation might be happy to call her own. "Yet even this excellent person," continued he, "renowned throughout Europe for his active philanthropy, having some few years ago taken on himself a troublesome and expensive civil employment, without the previous sacramental qualification enjoined by law, which his religious persuasion would not permit him to do, the penalties of the Act are still impending over him. I fear that even now, on returning to his native country amidst the plaudits of an admiring world, it may be in the power of any desperate informer who is ready to take that road to wealth and to damnation which the Legislature points out to prosecute Mr. Howard to conviction,

[1] Henry Beaufoy, M.P. for Minehead.—ED.

thereby exposing him to all the punishments inflicted on an outlaw, to the indelible dishonour of the British name." It must be admitted that such a case would exhibit the severest commentary on the laws. Sir Henry Hoghton seconded Beaufoy's motion for a committee of the whole House to consider the best mode for redressing the grievance which formed the subject of complaint. He was by creation one of the oldest baronets, as he was by election one of the most ancient members of Parliament in England; a rigid Presbyterian, of ample fortune, adorned with the mildest manners, and whose character, without stain of any kind, served highly to recommend the proposition.

But Lord North resisted it in a speech which, though much more concise than Beaufoy's, made not a less deep impression on his hearers—an impression augmented by his personal appearance, deprived of sight, and led in by his son, Colonel North. Those who recollected him only about six years earlier, in the plenitude of Ministerial power, seated on the Treasury bench, and who contrasted it with his present change of place and his blindness, surrounded by the companions of his political fall, might contemplate a striking monument of the slippery foundations on which ambition constructs its best-raised edifices. Far from coinciding in Beaufoy's principles or assumptions, he besought the House not to repeal the Test Act, as being the great bulwark of our constitution, to which we were eminently indebted for our freedom and tranquillity. "With respect," added he, "to the indignity of which the dissenters complain, in not admitting them to offices unless they qualify by the Act in question, has not the country legislatively enacted that no king or queen shall sit on the throne of these realms who refuses to take the Test Act?"—

"What was the opinion of Parliament in 1689, at the time of the Revolution? That Parliament was alive to the miseries which we had recently experienced and to the dangers which we had escaped. They deliberately reviewed all the laws, and they repealed every one except the Test Act, which they regarded as merely a civil and political regulation, necessary for the security of the Church and the preservation of the British constitution." Lord North illustrated these facts and reasonings by tracing the conduct of James II. when aiming equally at arbitrary power and at the introduction of Popery, to the attainment of both which objects the Test Act formed his principal or sole impediment. "It brought," continued he, "that ill-advised prince to the crisis of his fate. For if he could once have procured its repeal, tyranny would have stolen silently on, till it had struck so deep a root as to have rendered all endeavours ineffectual for our emancipation." Shortly after pronouncing this appeal to the good sense and constitutional loyalty of the House, indisposition compelled him to return home without staying to vote on the question.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who fully coincided with him in opinion, did not omit to pay Lord North the highest compliments on the ability which he had displayed in discussing and elucidating a question of such national importance. They were, I believe, the first spontaneous recognitions to that nobleman's talents and principles which had fallen from the Minister's lips since he came into office. Fox took the contrary side, remarking that however he might of late have been charged with the odium of coalition, it would not be imputable to him on that evening. With great acuteness he endeavoured to demonstrate that religion did not form a proper test for political institutions, sustaining his

assertion by the authority of Locke and of other eminent writers. Then addressing himself to the dissenters, he lavished high eulogiums on the motives which had regulated their public conduct in preceding periods of our history, exhorting them to persist in their applications to the Legislature, which could not ultimately fail of success. "I have considered myself," added he, "as honoured in acting with them on many occasions, and if I thought there was any time in which they departed from constitutional principles I should refer that conduct to a very recent date. But I am determined to let them know that, however they may occasionally lose sight of their principles of liberty, I never will lose sight of my principles of toleration." This pointed allusion to the part taken by the dissenters as a body relative to the memorable East India Bill did not escape Pitt's animadversion. After declaring that no person respected them as individuals more than he did, and admitting that in their corporate capacity the nation owed them obligations for the disposition which they had evinced to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power, he subjoined, "If I were to name the time in which I conceive that they have exhibited the best proof of their attachment to national freedom, I should fix upon the precise period in which it is asserted that they lost sight of their original principles." Neither Burke nor Sheridan took any part in this debate, and on the division Beaufoy's motion was negatived by seventy-eight votes—ninety-eight sustaining it, while the majority amounted to 176.

[*2d April* 1787.] With the month of April recommenced the great business of the session. Sheridan, lending himself again to the animosity of Burke, undertook to open the charge against Hastings relative to presents. The subject did not

indeed afford him equal facilities of exciting either indignation or compassion which he had derived from the sufferings of the Princesses of Oude, but it enabled him, nevertheless, to exhibit under another form his eloquent and seductive powers of oratory. Nor did he fail to enliven and to embellish the narrative of the Governor-General's asserted acts of corruption or of venality by some of those descriptions, sketched with a master-hand and highly coloured, which Sheridan well knew how to compose in his closet. "In reviewing Mr. Hastings's line of action," observed he, "I have uniformly found it to originate from a wild, eccentric, ill-regulated mind. Now haughty and lofty, now mean and insidious. Generous, just, artful, open, by fits and starts. At times deceitful, at others decided. Changeable in everything except in corruption. There, and only there, systematic, methodical, immutable. His revenge furious as a tempest or a tornado. His corruption a monsoon, a trade-wind, blowing regularly and constantly from one quarter." In this portrait, where the very similes are drawn from appropriate Asiatic phenomena, and where truth was rendered subservient to stage effect—for the House of Commons might justly be regarded by him as a theatre not less than Drury Lane—he principally studied to captivate and to enchain his hearers. No particle of the distempered, implacable animosity by which Burke was animated and impelled really pervaded Sheridan's bosom. Wit, antithesis, metaphor, irony, played successively through his speeches. When describing the morality of the Court of Directors, portrayed in their correspondence with the Governor-General, he said it might be condensed in these words: "Forasmuch as you have accepted presents, we highly disapprove your conduct; but inasmuch as

you have applied them to the credit of our account, we exceedingly approve your conduct." Even assuming that the observation contained as much truth as it did humour, yet Mr. Hastings neither being in the service of the Crown, nor able to foresee that his enemies would bring him as a public culprit before Parliament on his return to Europe, was it just to impeach him for accommodating his conduct to the standard of morals recognised by his immediate employers? The Court of Directors, not Hastings, seem to have formed the proper objects of prosecution, if Sheridan's assertion had been founded in reality.

Major Scott opposed to Sheridan's elegant declamation a dry, clear detail of facts, calculated to extenuate, if not wholly to disprove, all his allegations. Unfortunately, as Scott's zeal and information were not in every instance accompanied with corresponding judgment, he exposed Hastings to a severe attack from a quarter where hitherto he had almost always found a defender. For Scott having mentioned among the circumstances which proved the estimation in which the late Governor-General's public conduct was held by Ministers, that since his return home, at a dinner given him by the East India Directors, various members of the Board of Control were present, Lord Mulgrave rose under great apparent agitation. "I am anxious," exclaimed he, "to rescue Mr. Hastings from the shabby defence now set up for him. No man approves and applauds more than myself numerous parts of his administration while in Bengal. But is it sufficient to say, in reply to serious charges, that when he was entertained by his employers, as a mark of their grateful satisfaction, some members of the efficient Indian Government dined in the same room?" No doubt Scott acted imprudently in alluding to the circumstance;

but there were persons who thought that Lord Mulgrave's anger was directed as much to conciliate the Minister as it arose from feelings of indignation against Hastings's advocate. It was become evident that Pitt had determined to vote for the impeachment. Lord Mulgrave had very warmly opposed it in various stages. On the charge respecting Cheyt Sing, he had declared that, as an honest man, he could not coincide with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the condemnation of Hastings. These differences of opinion might be productive of injurious personal consequences. The British peerage, which formed the great object of his ambition, the reward of his parliamentary service, lay in near prospect before him. In fact, he was sent to the Upper House little more than three years afterwards, when the dissolution took place, and he probably secured a promise of it at this time. How far the considerations here enumerated might sharpen his sense of the imprudence committed by Scott must remain matter of conjecture. Mr. William Grenville concurred in sentiment with Lord Mulgrave. Both became peers in 1790.

A singularity attending this debate was that neither Fox nor Burke on one side nor Pitt or Dundas on the other took any part in it. One hundred and sixty-five persons found Hastings guilty, while only fifty-four acquitted him. A new discussion then commenced respecting the order of proceeding proper to be adopted by the House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave it as his opinion that the most advisable course to pursue would be to refer the charges to a committee, who might select out of them the criminal matter, and frame it into articles of impeachment. Then upon those articles, when reported, he proposed to move the question of

impeachment itself. Fox maintained a contrary doctrine. He said that the next step to be taken, after agreeing to the report on the table, would be to send a message to the House of Lords, signifying that "the House of Commons had resolved to impeach Mr. Hastings." Adding, that "they were preparing articles, and would send them up with all convenient dispatch." Each sustained his opinion by arguments drawn from reason, substantial justice, and above all from precedents, beginning with the case of the Earl of Danby under Charles II., and concluding with the trial of the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield under George I. Burke having patiently listened to the two disputants with more suavity than he ordinarily displayed, gave his advice in favour of the Minister's mode of prosecution. Not, as he asserted, in compliance with his own judgment—for he declared Fox's proposition to be the most constitutional—but with the intent, if possible, of securing unanimity.

I freely confess it appeared to me at the time, and I still remain unaltered in my opinion, that Hastings's defence was altogether ill-advised and injudicious, exposing him to the very evils which he might have avoided by a different line of action. If, instead of pretending to an immaculate purity, which no man in his perilous and elevated position could invariably maintain during twelve or thirteen years, he had adopted another mode of justification, he never would have been impeached. When accused of maladministration, if he had contrasted the instances adduced with his eminent recognised services to the state, if he had early authorised and enjoined his agent so to act, he would infallibly have disarmed Burke, or at the worst he would probably have secured Pitt. But ignorance, credulity, and presumption were his guides. Unac-

quainted with the nature of the ground, and relying on royal favour, while his own mind acquitted him of any dereliction of his public duties, he threw himself boldly, but, as the event proved, most imprudently, on the current of Parliament. At first it seemed to support him, but as he advanced the stream became more shallow and rocky, till he was finally wrecked. His warmest admirers and adherents were even obliged, in voting for him, to cover themselves with the very robe which he had thrown aside as unworthy of his use. They acquitted him, not because they considered the specific accusation brought forward to be without foundation in every particular instance, but because, balancing his faults or his acts of severity against his resplendent public merits, they thought that he deserved honours and rewards instead of punishment. At least such was the principle on which I acted throughout the whole prosecution. So, as I know, did many others. Burke profited by Hastings's error to attack him. Pitt availed himself of it to abandon him. Dundas, who took a less prominent part, calmly beheld the only individual who could emulate the place which he himself filled at the East India Board plunge into an ocean of embarrassments. It is true that he was ultimately acquitted. But how feeble a reparation did his acquittal constitute for years of accusation, attendance, and vexation, exposed to the eloquent invectives of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan. I repeat, Hastings became the victim, not of his crimes or of his oppressions committed in the East. It was his own imprudence and want of able councillors that brought him into Westminster Hall.

[3*d April* 1787.] When the House met for the purpose of appointing a committee to draw up articles of impeachment, Burke inveighed against

any attempt to allege Mr. Hastings's merits as a set-off against direct, criminal, personal charges. Where general criminality was imputed, he admitted that it might be fair to plead general services, but in a case where specific articles of accusation had been exhibited, it became the duty of Parliament to put the party accused upon his trial, without regard to any merits that he might plead or even possess. Mr. Hastings, he observed, had declared his disdain of any benefit that might result from bringing forward his public services, either as an extenuation or as a justification of his conduct. Major Scott, rising immediately, avowed that he never had for an instant, at any period of the prosecution, entertained an idea of pleading Mr. Hastings's merits as a set-off against delinquencies. "I have uniformly opposed all the charges," continued he, "because I conscientiously believe that the late Governor-General merited thanks and recompenses for those very acts which here have been made grounds of impeachment." In order to corroborate this declaration, which he said was equally the sentiment of Hastings, Scott read, by permission of the assembly, a paper in which he thus expressed himself on the point:—"If it shall be resolved that there is ground for impeaching me, I presume the resolution of impeachment ought to follow of course, as the only mode of satisfying the national justice, on the supposition of my guilt, or to clear my character in the alternative of my innocence." Hastings concluded by requesting those members who had not thought him culpable, yet, if the House should resolve on the report to charge him with crimes and misdemeanours, in that event to unite with his prosecutors for the purpose of bringing him to legal trial.

The resolutions being severally read, and the

question put upon each, not a word was uttered in opposition to them. Burke then moved the appointment of a committee to prepare articles of impeachment. Their names, at the head of which list appeared his own, were selected by himself, to the number of twenty. I have had occasion to mention the far greater part of them in the course of these Memoirs. One only was rejected on a division; I mean Francis, whose implacable hostility to Hastings rendered him, in the judgment of a large majority, unfit to fill the office of a manager on the approaching trial. He seemed, indeed, to display a most indecorous and malignant spirit of enmity in wishing to assume so prominent a part on the prosecution of a man with whom, as a member of the Supreme Council, he had differed in opinion upon almost every public measure, and by whom he had been wounded in a duel. Yet Francis complained of his exclusion as the result of malicious insinuations industriously circulated by his enemies. Only eight individuals of the twenty survive at the time when I am now writing, in April 1819, among whom are the four Earls of Rosslyn, Chichester, Lauderdale, and Grey, together with Lord St. John of Bletsoe. George Augustus North, Lord North's eldest son, filled a place in the committee, not from respect to his talents or eloquence, but as a testimony of his father's approval of and co-operation in the impeachment. Welbore Ellis and General Burgoyne rather lent their names than afforded any efficient aid to the cause. So did Frederick Montagu, whose correct information on all matters of parliamentary form or order, when added to his high character for integrity, served to grace the catalogue. Invitations were given by Burke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to Dundas, soliciting each of them to become members of the com-

mittee, but, after joining Hastings's enemies to collect the combustible materials, they judiciously left to others the task of commencing the conflagration.

[*4th*—*16th April* 1787.] During the period of the parliamentary recess at Easter great changes took place in the councils of France, Vergennes's death being followed after a short interval of time by Calonne's dismission. Whatever might be the defects of the Comptroller-General's private or public character (and I readily admit that they were numerous), he unquestionably fell a victim to his enlightened but imprudent propositions for the amelioration of the finances. Without first securing a majority in the assembly of the "Notables," he brought forward a measure, pregnant indeed with national benefit, but most repugnant to the pride and egotism, no less than it would have been severe in its operation on the property of the privileged orders. His proposition for imposing a territorial impost analogous to our land-tax, to be levied without distinction from every class of subjects, must have poured into the royal treasury a sum of more than £4,000,000 sterling annual revenue. The plan was worthy of Colbert, and, if it had been realised, would have extricated the sovereign, sustained the throne, and prevented, or at least mitigated, revolution. Unfortunately the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy or parliaments, blind to their own real interests, and ripe for the destruction which impended over them, refused to sacrifice a part of their possessions in order to preserve the remainder. The projected tax, which would have forced the peers, and even the princes of the blood, to contribute in the same proportion with the mechanic or the peasant, met with general opposition. Calonne, unable to surmount so formidable a combination, found it necessary to resign, overwhelmed by his

own unpopularity, while meditating to extricate France from financial embarrassment.

A circumstance, trifling in itself, which took place about this time, serves nevertheless forcibly to demonstrate the aversion felt towards him by the inhabitants of the capital as well as their characteristic levity. The tester of Calonne's bed having fallen upon him during the night, together with a portion of the ceiling of the room, he narrowly escaped suffocation. All Paris, when the fact became known, exclaimed, "Juste ciel!" The tester of a bed is denominated in French "le ceil du lit." After undergoing some marks of royal displeasure, he was permitted to withdraw into England. With him may be said to have commenced the emigration which soon became so general, and from his fall we may date the beginning of the revolution, though the Bastille was not attacked and taken till more than two years after Calonne's dismission. Lomenie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, a prelate whose abilities were at that time highly estimated, succeeded to the vacant place at the head of the finances. The Duke of Dorset, writing to me from Paris on the 24th of May 1787, says, "The Archbishop of Toulouse is said to be a clever man, but I believe him to be very much overrated." Time soon confirmed the ambassador's opinion. Even the appointment of an ecclesiastic to so eminent a post at such a moment was by no means calculated to calm the national agitation or to sustain the tottering foundations of the monarchy.

[20*th April* 1787.] But the attention of Parliament and of all England was suddenly diverted at this time into a new channel by the debts of the Prince of Wales, which, within the space of less than four years, were become intolerably oppressive to himself. All application to the sovereign for

assistance being found ineffectual, it was determined by his secret advisers, at whose head presided Lord Loughborough, Fox, and Sheridan, to throw him at once on the generosity of the House of Commons. Alderman Newnham,[1] who, in the course of the preceding session, when the subject of his Royal Highness's pecuniary embarrassments was agitated, had expressed his conviction that the income of the heir-apparent could not be found adequate to the support of his dignity, was again selected on the present occasion. He possessed neither eloquence nor public consideration that seemed to qualify him for so delicate an office, but, as one of the representatives for the City of London, he might be supposed to speak the sentiments of his constituents. Newnham, addressing himself across the table to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, requested to be informed whether it was the intention of Ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing the Prince of Wales from his very distressed situation. He added that the question thus asked did not originate in personal curiosity, as, according to the nature of the answer returned, he might find it expedient to ground a parliamentary proceeding. Pitt, thus interrogated, replied very laconically, that it not being his duty to open such a subject, except by command of his Majesty, it was only necessary for him to say that he had received no such directions. The alderman then gave notice that on the 4th of the ensuing month he would propose to the consideration of the House a motion relative to the Prince of Wales. Here terminated the conversation.

[*24th April* 1787.] Public curiosity being universally excited by the expected agitation of a question in which the King and his eldest son must form the two opposite parties, and which might in its

[1] Nathaniel Newnham.—ED.

progress give rise to the most painful disclosures, Pitt endeavoured, about four days later, either wholly to avert it, or, if that should be found impracticable, at least to ascertain the nature of the intended motion. Rising for the purpose, after alluding to the delicacy of the subject itself, he expressed a wish to know whether the honourable magistrate still persisted in forcing it forward on the attention of the House. "If he retained his determination," the Minister added, "at least its scope and tendency ought to be stated." Newnham replied that he did not force forward a discussion which was propelled by its own weight; that he had not yet decided on the precise form in which he should vest his proposition, but that its object would be to rescue the Prince of Wales from his actual pecuniary difficulties. The Minister sarcastically observing that it was singular to have given notice of a motion without previously determining what it should be, especially as it regarded a matter of such gravity and novelty, Fox came forward to Newnham's assistance. Having concurred in the latter part of Pitt's observation, Fox subjoined his hopes that, on account of the necessity which would arise for investigating the causes of his Royal Highness's distress, the business itself might be anticipated, and some act performed which must supersede the proposed motion. "I admit," answered the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "the necessity of investigation, and precisely for that reason, combined with my profound respect for the illustrious family concerned in it, I would, if possible, prevent discussion. The information which I possess on the point renders me peculiarly desirous of avoiding it, but if a determination should be manifested to bring it before this assembly, I shall, however distressing it may be to myself as an indi-

dual, discharge my public duty by entering fully into the subject."

[*27th April* 1787.] These reciprocal menaces soon led to more determined indications of hostility. Newnham having announced that his intention was "to move an address to the throne, entreating his Majesty to inquire into the Prince's embarrassed situation, and to rescue him from it," Rolle, who, though he furnished in his own person matter for political and poetic ridicule, yet represented a great county, and who, however coarse in his language he might be, wanted not intelligence or firmness in the discharge of his parliamentary duties, instantly expressed his disapprobation of the proposed motion. "It is," continued he, "a proposition which tends immediately to affect our constitution, both in Church and State. If, therefore, it should ever be brought forward, I will, as soon as the honourable magistrate sits down, move the previous question, for I am decidedly of opinion that it ought not to be discussed within these walls." Fox being absent on that evening (not, as he afterwards declared, premeditatedly, with a view of avoiding the mention of such a topic, but because he was unacquainted with the intention to agitate it), Sheridan took on himself to justify the appeal to Parliament. "A county member," exclaimed he, "stands forward and calls on the country gentlemen to aid him in opposing a discussion which may affect our constitution in Church and State. The subject is doubtless in itself momentous, but dark insinuations have been thrown out in order to magnify its importance. They have even been used as arguments to deter his Royal Highness's friends from introducing any measure likely to produce an inquiry into his conduct, under the penalty of disclosing alarming facts. I am however confident, and I speak from authority, when I assert that he

wishes every part of his conduct to be laid open, without ambiguity or concealment. Such is the unequivocal reply which the illustrious personage would himself give, as a peer of Parliament, if this subject should ever be agitated in another assembly."

Not in the least degree intimidated by Sheridan's speech, Rolle replied that no man present felt more loyalty towards his sovereign or towards the heir-apparent than himself. "Nevertheless," added he, "if a motion is proposed, which I hold to be improper, I shall act as becomes an independent country gentleman. I expect nothing from his Majesty, nor from his successor. I will, therefore, fulfil my duty by opposing a proposition which may produce serious differences between the father and the son." The sincerity of this concise and lofty declaration of disinterestedness, worthy of Andrew Marvel or of Shippen, must yet be liable to some sort of doubt, since, only nine years afterwards, the member for Devon kissed hands at St. James's on being raised by Pitt to the British peerage. And it is difficult to suppose that, even at the time when he professed so much indifference to the honours which emanate from the throne, he had not in view to obtain a seat in the Upper House. Various persons now interposed to deprecate the further discussion of so momentous a question. Among them Powis rose, who, however elevated might be his motives, nourished in his bosom a systematic ambition, not incompatible with an ardent desire of promoting the public welfare. In urgent terms he implored of Newnham not to prosecute his threatened intention, adding, that he ought to entreat permission to withdraw his notice. But Sheridan instantly appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether, by adopting such a course, the Prince would not seem to concede to terror what he had refused to argument. Under

these circumstances, the Minister, after again expostulating both with Newnham and with Sheridan on the impropriety of persisting to bring forward a proposition big with public mischief, finding all his efforts for preventing it fruitless, contented himself with declaring that the particulars to which he had alluded during a former debate, as necessary to be stated by him to the House, related solely to a correspondence that had taken place respecting the pecuniary embarrassments of the Prince, and had no reference to any extraneous facts.

[30*th April* 1787.] Fox, who, as I have already observed, had not been present at this debate, attended in his place when the subject was resumed, and performed the principal part, speaking in the name and by the immediate authority of the heir-apparent. Mrs. Fitzherbert formed, in fact, the prominent object of inquiry,[1] though she was not brought to the bar and personally interrogated, as we have beheld another female treated in 1809.[2] Fox having expatiated on the hardship of the Prince of Wales's situation, and declared his Royal Highness's readiness to state every particular of the debts which he had incurred, next adverted to Rolle's allusion. Without naming any individual, he stigmatised the report itself as a "low, malicious calumny, destitute of all foundation, impossible ever to have happened, and propagated with the sole view of depreciating the Prince's character in the estimation of the country." Rolle readily admitted its legal impossibility, but he maintained that there were modes in which it might have taken place. He added, that the matter had been discussed in newspapers all over the kingdom, impressing with

[1] She died at Brighton on March 27, 1837, aged eighty.—ED.

[2] Mrs. Clarke. An account of the inquiry of the House of Commons into the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief (the Duke of York) will be found in the "Annual Register," 1809, pp. 117–148.—ED.

deep concern every individual who venerated the British constitution. Fox replying that he denied it in point of fact as well as of law, the thing never having been done in any way, Rolle demanded, "Whether he spoke from direct authority?" To this question Fox answered decidedly in the affirmative, and here the dialogue terminated. Neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor any other member present took part in it, silence pervading the House, which, as well as the gallery, was crowded to the utmost degree. Mrs. Fitzherbert being now disclaimed as the wife of the Prince of Wales in the most formal terms, by a person who came expressly commissioned for the purpose on behalf of the personage principally interested, and Rolle making no reply, a sort of pause ensued, the debate, as far as it regarded the supposed matrimonial union or contract in question, seeming to be at an end.

Such would probably have been the fact, for Fox, satisfied with exposing the falsity of the imputation, never once opened his lips during the remainder of the discussion. But Sheridan, who always manifested an aversion towards Rolle, observed that after the explicit answer given on the present occasion, it would be most unhandsome in the member for Devon not to express his satisfaction. Finding, nevertheless, that no disposition was manifested to comply with his demand, Rolle simply remarking that he had certainly received an answer, and that the House must form their own opinion of its propriety, Sheridan returned with more personality to the charge. "Such a line of conduct," he said, "was neither candid nor manly, and the House ought therefore to resolve it seditious as well as disloyal to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince of Wales." Rolle, however, refused to concede or to declare any conviction

on the subject. "I did not invent these reports," answered he, "but I heard them, and they made an impression on my mind. In order to ascertain how far they had any foundation I put the question, and in so doing I am convinced that I have not acted in an unparliamentary manner." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who during the course of Rolle's interrogatory to Fox had not interposed, now rose, and with great animation arraigned Sheridan's proceeding as the most unqualified attack which he had ever witnessed on the freedom of debate. "Those," added Pitt, "who exhibit such warmth on the present occasion ought rather to acknowledge their obligation to the individual who has suggested a question which produced so explicit a declaration on this interesting subject—a declaration which must give complete satisfaction, not only to him, but to the whole House."

Rolle's tenacity in withholding his assent to the satisfactory nature of Fox's answer was equally displayed by Sheridan on Pitt's attempt to force from him the avowal. With uncommon ingenuity he endeavoured to demonstrate that Rolle, having received an explicit denial of his insinuation, was bound either to admit his error or to adopt measures for discovering the truth. "It would," continued he, "be aggravating the malicious falsehood circulated to assert that the Prince of Wales had authorised a false denial of the fact.[1] Even the Minister himself is obliged to assume that the honourable member must be satisfied, as he has not had sufficient candour to make the acknowledgment." Thus pressed, Rolle once more rose, and after observing that his affection for the heir-apparent dictated the question put by him, he added, "The honour-

[1] Which, however, he had deliberately done, making "dear Charles" his dupe throughout the affair.—D.

able gentleman has not heard me say I am unsatisfied." Grey vainly endeavoured, by a repetition of Sheridan's arguments, couched in still more intemperate language, to elicit from Rolle a less equivocal recognition. But Pitt, indignant at the expressions used by Grey, repelled his attempt with great warmth. While the Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed every idea of menace, he persisted in declaring that all those to whom the harmony and the happiness of the royal family were dear ought to join with him in deprecating the threatened discussion, or, if it could not be prevented, at least to give it the most decided opposition. "No possible necessity," concluded he, "can be pleaded for recurring to this assembly on a subject which in propriety as well as in decency ought to originate with the crown, since I know that there exists no want of becoming readiness in another quarter to do everything which ought to be done in the business." With this declaration, which seemed, if it was improved, to open a door for mutual concession, the debate closed, each party professing a determined intention of trying the issue, and both sides anticipating a favourable result.

[*May* 1787.] But a variety of considerations happily conduced to prevent a collision apparently so imminent, and which would have been subject of just regret if it had taken place. The question at issue regarding the royal family exclusively could not be contemplated in the light of a common Ministerial measure, and many individuals who usually supported Government would probably have voted on the contrary side. Fox's formal and direct disavowal of Mrs. Fitzherbert's marriage operated to conciliate others who, when no longer indisposed towards the Prince on account of his supposed in-

fraction of the laws, might incline to increase his income, and even to liquidate his debts. There were not wanting persons who thought his annual allowance too scanty for the heir to the British throne. Conscientious men considered the King's conduct scarcely justifiable in appropriating to his own use the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall during the minority of his son, and refusing to render any account of their expenditure after he became of age. His Majesty asserted, indeed, that they had been expended on the Prince's education, but it was answered that provision had been made for that national object, which was included in the Civil List. A statesman, especially if he was a Minister, might probably have decided in favour of the sovereign. I believe that a rigid moralist would nevertheless have determined on the other side. Pitt's own parliamentary experience had shown him that he could not always calculate on a majority. He had been compelled to abandon the Westminster scrutiny and to desist from prosecuting the Duke of Richmond's plan of fortifications. The grace and affability of the Prince, when combined with the festivities of Carlton House, contrasted too as they were with the seclusion of George III.'s mode of life, contributed to attract followers. These facts, which could not escape either Pitt's or Dundas's attention, were enforced and placed before them in the strongest point of view by the Duchess of Gordon. Few women have performed a more conspicuous part or occupied a higher place than herself on the public theatre of fashion, politics, and dissipation between the period of which I am writing and the close of Pitt's first Administration, a term of about fourteen years. I shall speak of her with great impartiality from long personal acquaintance. She was one of the three daughters of Sir William Max-

well of Monteith, a Scotch baronet; and the song of "Jenny of Monteith," which I have heard the present Duke of Gordon sing, was composed to celebrate her charms.

In my estimate of female attractions, she always wanted one essential component part of beauty. Neither in her person, manners, or mind was there any feminine expression. She might have aptly represented the Juno of Homer, but not Horace's "O quæ beatam Diva tenes Cyprum!" Her features, however noble, pleasing, and regular, always animated, constantly in play, never deficient in vivacity or intelligence, yet displayed no timidity. They were sometimes overclouded by occasional frowns of anger or vexation, much more frequently lighted up with smiles. Her conversation bore a very strong analogy to her intellectual formation. Exempted by her sex, rank, and beauty from those restraints imposed on woman by the generally recognised usages of society, the Duchess of Gordon frequently dispensed with their observance. Unlike the Duchess of Devonshire, who, with the tumult of elections, faro, and party triumphs could mix love, poetry, and a passion for the fine arts, the Scottish Duchess reserved all the energies of her character for Ministerial purposes. Desirous of participating in the blessings which the Treasury alone can dispense, and of enrolling the name of Gordon with those of Pitt and of Dundas, if not in the rolls of fame, at least in the substantial list of court favour and benefaction, the Administration did not possess a more active or determined partisan. Her discernment enabled her to perceive that Fox, whatever dignities or employments might be reserved for him by fortune under the reign of George IV., would probably remain excluded from power so long as the sceptre remained in the possession of George

III. This principle or conviction seemed never to be absent from her mind.

Her conjugal duties pressed on her heart with less force than did her maternal solicitudes. In her daughters centred principally her ambitious cares. For their elevation no sacrifices appeared to her to be too great, no exertions too laborious, no renunciations too severe. It would indeed be vain to seek for any other instance in our history of a woman who has allied three of her five daughters in marriage to English Dukes, and the fourth to a Marquis.[1] Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, so powerful under the last Queen of the Stuart race, and who had likewise five daughters, obtained for them only two Dukes and three Earls in marriage. Yet they were the children of the illustrious John Churchill, and on them was respectively settled, by Act of Parliament, the dukedom and Blenheim. The ladies in question inherited nothing, not even their mother's personal beauty, or at least only in a diminished degree. To that mother, and to her solely, they owed their great matrimonial alliances. The Dukes of Richmond and of Manchester, banished under the name of Governors, the first to the snowy banks of the St. Lawrence, and the other to the oppressive climate of Jamaica, are both paying, at this hour, the penalty of those imprudent if not unfortunate matches. Georgiana, youngest of the five, whom the Duchess carried over to Paris in 1802, and whose hand she had destined for Eugene Beauharnois, in the subsequent year became Duchess of Bedford. Bonaparte, then First Consul, and already anticipating an Imperial crown, meditated a higher alliance for Eugene than the family of Gordon could offer, however ancient or illustrious

[1] Duke of Richmond, Duke of Manchester, Duke of Bedford, and Marquis Cornwallis.

may be its rank in the Scottish peerage, and he expressed his decided disapprobation of any such meditated union. Three years later, having by the plenitude of his usurped power saluted the Duke of Bavaria as a king, he exacted the sacrifice of the new sovereign's eldest daughter for Josephine's son, nominated Viceroy of Italy.

As early as the year 1787, Dundas had attained a commanding influence, which no other individual ever acquired over Pitt's mind. With the members of the Cabinet Pitt maintained only a political union; Dundas was his companion, with whom he passed not merely his convivial hours, but to whom he confided his cares and embarrassments. Dundas possessed a villa near London, at Wimbledon, where he was accustomed to repair after debates, for the purpose of sleeping out of town. Pitt, on quitting the Treasury bench, used to throw himself into Dundas's postchaise, and to accompany him. At whatever hour they arrived they sat down to supper, never failed to drink each his bottle, and the Minister found his sleep more sound as well as more refreshing at Wimbledon than in Downing Street. However violent might have been the previous agitation of his mind, yet in a very few minutes after he laid his head on the pillow, he never failed to sink into profound repose. So difficult, indeed, was it to awaken him, that his valet usually shook him before he could be roused from sleep. One of his private secretaries used to affirm that no intelligence, however distressing, had power sufficient to break his rest. On that account, he never locked or bolted the door of his bedchamber. I recollect a circumstance which took place several years subsequent to this time—it happened in 1796—strongly corroborative of the above facts. Pitt having been much disturbed by a variety of painful

political occurrences, drove out to pass the night with Dundas at Wimbledon. After supper the Minister withdrew to his chamber, having given his servant directions to call him at seven on the ensuing morning. No sooner had he retired, than Dundas, conscious how much his mind stood in need of repose, repaired to his apartment, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket, at the same time enjoining the valet on no consideration to disturb his master, but to allow him to sleep as long as nature required. It is a truth that Pitt neither awoke nor called any person till half-past four in the afternoon of the following day, when Dundas entering his room together with his servant, found him still in so deep a sleep that it became necessary to shake in order to awaken him. He had slept uninterruptedly during more than sixteen hours.

I have already remarked elsewhere that Dundas, beneath the appearance of unguarded, open manners, knew how to mature, and, when necessary, how to conceal, the most solid projects of ambition. Managing Scotland while he controlled India, and looking forward to the British peerage as his certain reward, he kept his eye fixed invariably on Pitt. With consummate ability he adapted his conduct as well as his conversation to the peculiar structure of that Minister's mind, on which adulation would only have produced effects injurious to his own plans. Dundas guided Pitt on many points, and influenced him upon almost every measure, but he effected it by never dictating upon any matter. When discussing public business, he commonly affected to embrace ideas contrary to the opinion which he knew or believed Pitt to have formed upon the subject. After contesting the Chancellor of the Exchequer's arguments, Dundas usually concluded by adopting his sentiments, as if from real convic-

tion. This ingenious species of flattery proved irresistible under the control of judgment. The Duchess of Gordon, who lived in habits of great intimacy with them both, entertained about the same time the project of marrying her eldest daughter to the First Minister. Lady Charlotte Lennox was then about eighteen years of age, and though not a Hebe, yet her youth, her high birth, and her accomplishments might not improbably, as her mother thought, effect his conquest. In fact, Pitt, however little constitutionally inclined to the passion of love, yet manifested some partiality towards her, and showed her many attentions. The Duchess, desirous of improving so favourable a commencement, used to drive to Wimbledon, accompanied by Lady Charlotte, at times when she knew that Pitt was there. But Dundas, than whom few men were more clear-sighted, and who by no means wished his friend to form a matrimonial connection which must have given the Duchess a sort of maternal ascendant over him, determined to counteract her design. For that purpose he could devise no expedient more efficacious than affecting a disposition to lay his own person and fortune at Lady Charlotte's feet. He was then a widower, having been divorced from his first wife.[1] Pitt, who never had displayed more than a slight inclination towards the lady, ceased his assiduities, and Dundas's object being answered, his pretensions, which never were clearly pronounced, expired without producing any ostensible effect. Singular or doubtful as these facts may appear, I have good reason for believing them to be founded in truth. They came from high authority. Two years later the Duchess of Gordon

[1] Dundas's first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of David Rennie, of Melville Castle.—ED.

succeeded in procuring for her the hand of Colonel Lennox, since become Duke of Richmond.[1]

[*1st—4th May* 1787.] The concluding words of the Minister's speech on the 30th of April sufficiently indicated that at St. James's there existed a disposition to accommodate matters, without making disclosures in the House of Commons, equally painful to the King and to the Prince. It only required a friendly interposition to animate this inclination. The Duchess of Gordon undertook the office. She passed a part of almost every evening in society with the heir-apparent, whom she was accustomed in conversation to treat with the utmost freedom, even upon points of great delicacy. Her exhortations and remonstrances to Ministers produced the desired effect. His Majesty having approved of the experiment, Dundas was selected for carrying it into execution. The facility of his careless, open manner, so different from Pitt's serious, stiff, constrained address, rendered him peculiarly proper for the mission. A respectful intimation being conveyed to his Royal Highness requesting permission on the part of Dundas to attend him at Carlton House, an interview took place between them on Wednesday, the 2d of May. I could recount some of its most curious particulars, as they were related by the Prince himself to one of my intimate friends, who communicated them to me. But though many years may possibly elapse before these Memoirs will be laid before the public, yet I shall content myself with stating that Dundas experienced the most gracious reception. After ascertaining from the Prince's own lips the extent of his pecuniary encumbrances, which amounted to full £200,000, Dundas gave him an assurance that prompt as well as

[1] They were married in September 1789. On the death of the last Duke of Gordon, Colonel Lennox succeeded to the estates.—ED.

liberal assistance should be extended to him. This amicable conference was subsequently moistened with no ordinary quantity of wine, and the engagement which had been contracted fasting received a most energetic ratification on the part of the Treasurer of the Navy after they had drunk very freely together. There did not indeed exist among the members of Administration an individual composed of more malleable materials than Dundas. The ground being now prepared, and the preliminaries adjusted on the following day, Thursday, Pitt was admitted to an audience at Carlton House. Every article of the accommodation was finally concluded before the separation of the Prince and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

END OF VOL. IV.

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